

EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
PART XIX

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

BY

E. LOBEL, M.A.

FELLOW OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE AND READER IN PAPYROLOGY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

E. P. WEGENER, Ph.D.

PRIVAAT-DOCENTE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN

C. H. ROBERTS, M.A., F.B.A.

FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, AND READER IN PAPYROLOGY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

AND

H. I. BELL, Hon. D.Litt. (Wales, Michigan, and Brussels)

READER IN PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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PREFACE

THIS Part, like its predecessor, has been an unusually long time in the press, and is late in appearing, through causes beyond the control of the editors. It is again of composite character and editorship. The new literary texts, with one exception (2222), together with 2225 and 2226, have been edited by Mr. Lobel, the two Euripides fragments (2223, 2224) by Mr. Roberts, the documents, together with the Ptolemaic chronology (2222), by Miss Wegener, under the general supervision of Mr. Roberts. Miss Wegener has also compiled the indices for the whole volume. In normal circumstances the documentary part of the volume would have been prepared for press by Mr. Roberts, and doubtless he or Miss Wegener or both would have revised texts and commentary, but his duties at the Foreign Office precluded his undertaking any continuous work at papyri, and the German occupation of Holland made it quite impossible to communicate with Miss Wegener. I therefore myself selected from the materials she had left behind when she returned to Holland in 1939 the documents here published, arranged them for publication, and revised the whole. Naturally, in the course of this work, I found not a few passages in which I was unable to accept her reading or interpretation. Since it was not possible to submit my divergent views to her consideration, and it seemed unfair to saddle her with conclusions from which she might dissent, I have so far departed from the anonymity which has hitherto invested individual contributions to the volumes of this series as to mark in the notes with the initial 'B.' all such passages. The initial does not necessarily mean that the reading or note thus distinguished is entirely my own but may indicate merely that I have introduced into it some addition or modification which substantially alters what Miss Wegener wrote. I must add that her work is uniformly of such high quality that problems not correctly solved by her are always difficult, and my own solutions are put forward with all necessary reserve. The last three accounts, 2243 (a), 2243 (b), and 2244, had merely been transcribed provisionally by Miss Wegener, and the introductions and commentary to these

texts are my own though I was able to use some notes and references jotted down by her in the course of her work.

Mr. Roberts has read the proofs throughout, but is not responsible for any errors that may occur.

Mr. Lobel sends me the following note:

The constituents of the section of this volume designated 'New classical fragments' are not what the statement made in vol. xviii introd. p. vi, that vol. xix was 'designed to contain among other things much more Alcaeus and Sappho', might have led the reader to expect. The copy for such a volume was ready, among the 'other things' being included a further instalment of texts of Callimachus. But when the Clarendon Press announced its intention of proceeding at once with the publication of Professor R. Pfeiffer's edition of *Callimachus*, it seemed proper to postpone everything else to the making available to him of *all* of this author that could be found among the Oxyrrhynchus fragments. Accordingly the plan was changed and this volume and another, which it is to be hoped will follow at not too long an interval, present all of Callimachus (apart from the hymns) that a search made with that end in view has discovered there. It would be surprising if exhaustiveness had been attained but it has been aimed at. As regards the hymns, two manuscripts of some interest and importance have been included in this volume, but there are certainly others, which I have not treated as my business. The two manuscripts of Euphorion, it will be obvious, appear here as evidence against certain ascriptions to Callimachus. All the material collected for both volumes has been at the disposal of Professor Pfeiffer and has benefited in innumerable instances from his criticism. Some of his improvements have been so great that I have not thought it right to anticipate their appearance in his edition. I have also had the advantage of several conversations with Professor P. Maas, whose suggestions I hope I have acknowledged each in its proper place. To both these gentlemen I wish to express my very great gratitude for the help they have given me.

It remains to express the editor's thanks to the staff of the Oxford University Press, who have worked under great difficulties, due to the circumstances of the time, and particularly to the Press reader, who has called my attention to not a few slips and inconsistencies which had escaped my notice. Thanks are also due from me personally to the Librarian of the National Library of Wales for taking custody of the documentary papyri and for many courtesies extended to me in the course of the work.

H. I. BELL

ABERYSTWYTH
December, 1947

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Vv. 1-31, 38-40, 44-53, 61, 64-78 lost, vv. 118-37 omitted in this copy, 138a peculiar to this copy.
80]ρνοικαί, sc. δακ]ρύοικα: δακρυχέουσα (-ασα). The previous line has a spondaic ending but there is no objection to two in succession, e.g. *hy.* i 34-5, iii 97-8.

81 νητα[: νεῖται.

83 δηλα[: δειλαία.

84 αλλοτ[.]αι: ἀλλοτρίοις.

90]ρρεον . . . πολλα: κατέρρεεν . . . πάντα.

92 μεζ[: μεῖζον.

μεσπεπινευρ. c: μέσφ' ἐπὶ νευράς (ἐνὶ πλευράς). The papyrus has μέσφα not μέσφα again at 111 and that this is no error is shown by the occurrence of the same form at Cyrene (Thumb. *Gr. Dial.*² i 182). νευράς was certainly not written. νευραῖς might be read but the presumed α would be represented only by the extreme lower end of the tail. νευρ[ο]ῖς is by no means ruled out.

93 ρυος: ἴνες (ἴρις, ἴρις). The papyrus reading had been conjectured by Valckenaer.

ελευφθη: ἔλ(ε)υφθεν.

97 ποτ[: Ποσειδ-.

106 ουδ[: ἦδη. ουδεν was no doubt the papyrus reading. It had been conjectured by Bergk.

108 βουν: βῶν.

110 μάλουριν: αἰλουρον. μαλουρις hitherto only in Hesych., 'white-tail'.

111 μεσταμενεν: μέσφ' ὅτε μὲν. I suppose that the occurrence of ἐν before Τριόπαιο implies that the papyrus had ἔτι for ἐν before χρήματα. The papyrus reading was in principle conjectured by Maas (*Sokrates* 47 ii p. 136).

112 μωνον: μῶνοι.

113 αλλοκοτον: ἀλλ' ὅτε τὸν. The correct ἀλλ' ὅκα had of course been arrived at.

118-37 There is nothing to show whether the omission of these verses is accidental or deliberate. The existence of an otherwise unrecorded line after 138, hitherto the last of the piece, may imply an alternative ending.

138a As far as I can tell δω[μ]αει would suit the indications.

Unidentified fragment. This fragment, which is certainly in the same hand and I should judge as certainly from the same MS. as the rest I can neither attach nor identify. The blank in l. 2 would naturally be interpreted as the indication of a short line, which might be a short hexameter, a pentameter, or a title. None of these hypotheses has led to a fruitful result and I must leave the problem for others to solve.

1 Of ρ only the tail. A narrow letter might be missing between this and the next, which is represented by the foot of an upright.

3 Of ε only the right-hand end of the central cross-stroke. τω[might be read for τρ[

4],, an upright with ink to the left of its top, perhaps π most probable.

5],, perhaps the top of the right-hand upper arm of χ. It is followed by a trace level with the tops of the letters.

DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

(a) OFFICIAL

2227. LETTER OF A PREFECT?

A.D. 215-16? Plate XIII.

Only two fragments of this official letter to a strategus are preserved. The first fragment, measuring 15.5×16 cm., contains the beginning of the letter; the second, measuring 5.2×8.7 cm., contains the end. The handwriting is of the chancery style, on which see Gerstinger, *Wiener Studien*, xlvi (1929), pp. 168 seqq.; other documents in chancery handwriting, published after Gerstinger's article, are P. Oslo iii. 185 and 186, P. Brem. 5, P. Bodl. Ms. Gr. Class. f 107 (P) (published *J.E.A.* xxiii, 1937, p. 222). At the end of the document is the personal subscription of the writer in cursive handwriting. The content of the letter is not clear owing to its fragmentary condition.

[An example of chancery hand not mentioned by Gerstinger is seen in P. Lond. Inv. No. 2038 (see *Archiv*, vi, p. 109); and examples recently published are P.S.I. 1247 recto and P. Mich. vi. 364 (A.D. 179), a document addressed by a tax-farmer for several nomes to a local official. B.]

Fr. A

1	[Αὐρήλι]ος Ἀν[τίνουος	Αὐρηλίω Σαραπίω-]
	[μι τῶι] καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανῶι	στρατ[ηγῶι Ἑρμοσο-]
	[λίτου]	[χαίρειν.]
	[Ἐπιστ]άμενος τὴν πρὸς πάντα []
5	[...]εσιν μάλιστα τὴν πρὸς το[]
	[. ἐν]οιαν καὶ σπουδὴν καὶ π[ροαίρεσιν]
	[. κατ]αφθάνω τῶι πολεμάρχ[ωι]
	[.....]ν ἐπιστ[ο]λὴν [τ]ηστ[]

Fr. B

	[. . .] καὶ [...]. τουτ[]
10	[]εται. (2nd hand) ἐρρώσθαί σε .[]

1 [Αὐρήλι]ος Ἀν[τίνουος: he is probably identical with Aurelius Antinous, prefect of Egypt from about the autumn of 215 till the spring of 216; cf. Stein, *Archiv*, iv, pp. 148 seqq., and Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, p. 137.

1-2 [Αὐρηλίω Σαραπίωι τῶι] καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανῶι: Aurelius Sarapion alias Apollonianus is known as strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemon of the Arsinoite nome for the year 210 (perhaps 210-14), from which office he had retired by A.D. 215; cf. 2184 2 n. Afterwards we find him

attested as strategus of the Hermopolite nome from between 211-17 (cf. 2119 1-2 n.) till between 218-22; cf. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, pp. 76, 78, 18, *40 and Bilabel, *RE.*, s.v. 'strategus'. Therefore, if our restoration of the name of the prefect in l. 1 is right, the present letter cannot have been addressed to him as strategus of the Arsinoite nome (in any case there seems to be no room for the *μερίς*), but proves that, shortly after he had retired from that office, he was appointed strategus of the Hermopolite nome. It is impossible that he was strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome at the date of our document, because we know that Aurelius Anoubion was strategus of that nome in A.D. 214 and A.D. 216. Cf. Henne, op. cit., p. 31; Bilabel, op. cit. Moreover, it is clear that he was an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus, where his official correspondence was found; for that reason also it is unlikely that he could have been strategus of the Oxyrhynchite; cf. Tait, 'The Strategi and Royal Scribes in the Roman Period', *J.E.A.*, viii (1922), pp. 166 seqq.

2-3 The word στρατηγῶν must have been followed by Ἐρμοπολίτου and χαίρειν, but owing to the lacunae at the end of l. 2 and the beginning and end of l. 3, of which the remaining part is blank, the arrangement of words adopted in the text is conjectural.

7 τῶν πολέμαρχων: in Ptolemaic papyri occurs a proper name Πολέμαρχος (cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.v.), but the article before the word in this line proves clearly that it is not the proper name here. The office of πολέμαρχος is new to the papyri, but is a well-known office in Greece. At Athens the polemarch was originally the leader of the army, but later on he was merely a civil magistrate, whose competence was similar to that of the Roman *praetor peregrinus* (Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 58); cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, i, p. 249, ii, p. 43, and *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer*, p. 72; a πολέμαρχος *συνεφέβων* occurs in an inscription of A.D. 145-6 (*C.I.G.* ii². 2055), where according to L. and S. the meaning is simply 'chief, leader'. In the free cities of Boeotia and Euboea, the office of polemarch had the same development as at Athens; as Wilamowitz-Moellendorff says in his *Staat und Gesellschaft*, p. 129, the polemarchs are *jetzt nur noch Bürgermeister*; cf. his *Aristoteles und Athen*, ii, p. 43 and Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, i, p. 730, 5; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, s.v.; for references to polemarchs of other Greek cities see L. and S., s.v., and Dittenberg, *Sylloge* iv, index, s.v. It is, of course, not possible to say anything about the competence of the polemarch in Egypt, but it is not without interest, having regard to the civil competence of this official in Greece itself, to point out that a πολέμαρχος, a magistrate in some Macedonian cities, whose function probably differed not much from that of the polemarch (cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, p. 141), is mentioned once in the papyri (745 4 = Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe*, II, 4 n.; cf. S.B. 5765, 7). Our polemarch may have been a magistrate of Alexandria, which had the νόμοι of Athens, as we know from 2177 12-15, or, perhaps more likely, either of Antinoopolis or Hermopolis.

8 [τ]ηστ[]: either [τ]ῆς τ[] or [τ]ῆ στ[].

10 []εται: perhaps [ἐπιστέλλ]εται.

ἐρῶσθαι σε: after these words we can supply either εὔχομαι or βούλομαι.

At the bottom of this fragment is a blank space of 2 cm. This may have been followed by the date; cf. the letter of the prefect Subatianus Aquila in Schubart, *Tab.* 35.

2228. COPIES OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF A STRATEGUS.

22.3 × 35.9 cm.

A.D. 283?

The present document contains the copies of seven official letters, of which six are addressed to a strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome and one to the strategi of several nomes, probably including the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. A considerable part of the left side of the first column and at least one complete column on the right side of the papyrus have been cut off by the writer of the account of A.D. 294 on the verso and the document is broken at the top. It is nevertheless the largest extant example of such correspondence. Only two parallel documents, both in rather fragmentary condition, have been published hitherto, viz. P.S.I. 1125, of A.D. 302, the

correspondence of the *procurator usiacus* with the strategus of the Arsinoite nome, and P. Osl. iii. 82, of the third century, the correspondence of a strategus of the Arsinoite nome with a strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. But in our document also many points are obscure owing to the fragmentary condition of the first column. It is not clear, for instance, for what purpose these letters, for the contents of which see the commentary, were here collected. The natural hypothesis is that this is a letter-book. The only reasons for doubting this are that the dates are not consecutive (II is dated the 30th, IV the 28th, V the 7th, 17th, or 27th, and VII the 9th Thoth) and that all the letters, with the possible, though not certain, exception (see ll. 37-45 n.) of VII, are connected, directly or indirectly, with the *annona militaris*. It may be that in connexion with some current business copies of illustrative documents were asked for, but it does not seem impossible that in preparing copies of letters received the clerks charged with the task wrote them down in reverse order; if ι or κ is read in l. 25 before ζ (but see note *ad loc.*) this letter would fall into such a sequence. The question must be left open.

On palaeographical grounds also the document is not without interest. There are six different types of hand (1, ll. 1-14; 2, ll. 15-21; 3, ll. 22-5; 4, l. 25b; 5, ll. 26-30, 37-41; 6, ll. 30-6, 41-5), which have been so distinguished in the text as printed; but it does not follow that each hand was the work of a different clerk. Miss Wegener distinguished only two clerks, to the first of whom she attributed ll. 1-25, to the second ll. 26-45, adding 'it is, however, remarkable that both scribes in copying the letter of a high official, letters IV, VI, ll. 27-30, and VII, ll. 37-41, use a hand which is clearly influenced by the chancery style, whereas they write the other letters more cursively'. It is certainly probable that she was right as regards letters VI and VII. It is significant that the headings (l. 26 and *ἑτέρας* in l. 37) are in the 'chancery' style, whereas the *ἐρῶσθαι σε εὔχομαι κτλ.* in l. 30 and the *ἐστὶ δὲ κτλ.* in l. 41 (not, however, the date and not altogether the copy of the subscription in this case) are in the more cursive hand. Here we seem clearly to see a single clerk varying his hand to suit the letters copied. Letter V, however, is certainly in a hand which, while not in the chancery style, is different from any other in either column, l. 25b is apparently an inserted note (see l. 25 n.), and letter IV is in a hand which, though it has features characteristic of that adaptation of the chancery style found not infrequently even in legal documents of the period, is so totally different from that of ll. 26-30, 37-41 that it cannot conceivably be regarded as an attempt to reproduce the same form of script; indeed it is written so naturally that it does not look like an imitation of anything. It is most satisfactory to distribute the clerks employed among the various types of hand as follows: clerk A = 1; B = 2; C = 3; D = 5 and 6; E = 4. (B.)

These examples of an imitative chancery hand suggest that P.S.I. 1125 (= *Pubbl. della Scuola di Fil. Class. dell' Università di Roma*, Serie Seconda, plate XIX) is a copy made in the office of the strategus of the Arsinoite nome and does not, as the editors thought, represent the chancery hand of Alexandria.

Col. I

I 1 [] γμα[.....]
 [] υ[.]με[.....]
 [] πράσ[σ]οντα ἀχθήσε[ται].....
 [] ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι.

II 5 [] Ἀπό(?) τοῦ Ἀρσινοῦτου Θῶθ λ.
 στρατηγῶ Ὁξυρυγχίτου χαί[ρει]ν.
 [] δεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης δια
 [] αντος δραχμᾶς δισχειλίας διακο-
 [σίας] αι μου τὰ γράμματα ἀπαιτήσας
 10 [] εἰν γὰρ ὑστερ[ή]σης σὺ αὐτὸς ἐκτείσεις τὸ ζη-
 [μίωμα]] ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι.

III [] στρατηγῶ Ὁξυρυγχίτου χαίρειν.
 [] διὰ τοῦ ὑ[π]ηρέτου τῆς στρατηγίας ἀπόστειλον
 [] πρὸ τῆς ἀφί[ξ]εως αὐτοῦ. ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι.

IV (2nd hand) 15 [] Θῶθ κῆ.
 [] στρατηγοῖς τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων νομῶν χαίρειν.
 [] ἐκατοντάρχων λημμάτων τοῦ διελθόν-
 [τος α (ἔτους)] ταῖς τοῦ ταμείου ψήφοις λημματίσαι ἤττον
 [] ὑποταγῆναι ἐκέλευσα, ὅπως καλῶς τὴν ἔκπραξιν τῶν
 20 [] εἰν γὰρ βραδύνητε, ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων
 [] ν. ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι. Αὐρή-
 λ(ιος) Δράκων πρίγκιψ.

Col. II

V (3rd hand) ..νπρ[.....]με[]
 παρὰ τ[.....]ωσαντ[]
 πεπεμμ[ε]ν[.....]ταχ[]
 25 [β[? Θῶθ] ζ. εισ[.....].]

(4th hand?) 25b [εἰς Τῶθλην.]
 (5th hand) ἄλλων β[.....]ισθ(έντων) δι()

VI 27 Αὐρήλιος Μερκούριος στρατηγῶ Ὁξυ[ρ]υγχίτου χαί[ρει]ν. []
 ἦν [.....] στ[ρ]ατη[γ]ός.....]
 28 λης ἰ[ν'] εἰδείης ὑποταγῆναι ἐκέλευσα καὶ φροντίσης κατὰ τάχος τὴν
 [?τῶν βουρδῶνων] ν χ[ρ]ε[ί]αν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀχθῆναι ὑπέρ

29 τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἐποχὴν περὶ τὴν χ[ρ]ε[ί]αν τῶν βουρδῶνων γενέσ[θ]αι.
 εἰν γὰρ μὴ κατὰ τάχος ἀνύσης, αἴτιος ἔση τῆς]
 30 περὶ τὴν τηλικαύτην χρεῖαν ἐνέδρας. (6th hand) ἐρρώσθαι σε
 ε[ῦ]χομαι. Λβ[? Θῶθ] .. ε[στ]ι[] δὲ ἀ(ντίγραφον)· [.....
]

31 ναι τὸ κελευσθὲν ἐσκεψάμην σὺν ὑμεῖν πρὸ τοῦ εἰς ὑπομνήματά με
 ἦκειν καὶ ἐδοκίμασ[α τὰ τῆ] βουλῆ] [δόξαντα ἐκάστου βουρδῶνος]
 32 ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δέκα ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδόν μου ἐψηφίσασθαι ἐν τῷ
 βουλευτηρίῳ δεῖν τ[άλαντα δέ]κα ἐπτὰ δο[θῆ]ναι.....]
 33 ησα λέγων εὐδελον εἶναι ἐκβουλεσθαι ὑμ[ᾶ]ς τὸ κελευσθὲν ἀνῦσαι
 φ[ρ]οντίσατε πᾶσιν.....]ον[.....]. λ[.....τελέ-]
 34 σαι κατὰ τάχος ἐκάστου βουρδῶνος τάλαντα δέκα εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ
 τὸν νομόν, ἵνα οὕτως μη]δεμία π[ε]ρὶ τὸ.....]
 35 κον ἐποχῇ γένηται. εἰν γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἀφοσιώσει χρησάμενοι μὴ βουλη-
 θῆτε τὴν χ[ρ]ε[ί]αν [ἀνῦσαι, ἐκτ]ίμειν ὀφείλετε τὸν ἐκ τ[ο]ῦ[τ]ου
 ἐσόμει-]
 36 νον κίνδυνον. ἵνα δὲ μηδεμίαν ἄνοιαν ὑποτιμήσασθε αὐτὰ τὰ περὶ
 τούτου γενόμενα ..[] α ὑποταγῆναι ἐκέλευσα. Λβ[? Θῶθ] ..]

VII (5th hand) 37 ἐτέρας. Αὐρήλιος Μερκούριος στρατηγῶ Ὁξυρυγχίτου χαίρειν.
 ὃ ἐ]μοὶ ἀνήνεγκαν Εὐγράφι[ος καὶ]
 38 Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων δ(φ)φικιάλιοι τῆς οὐσιακῆς ἐπιτροπῆς, ἵν' εἰδείης,
 ὑπο[ταγῆ]ναι ἐκέλευσα καὶ φροντίση[ς τὸν]
 39 ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένον ἐκάστη κώμη ἀριθμὸν θρεμμάτων τεθρ[αμ]μένων
 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ἔχειν [καὶ πρό-]
 40 νοιαν ποιήση τοῦ ἐκτενῶς αὐτὰ τρέφεσθαι, ἐμοὶ τε δηλῶσαι ὡς ἔχ[ει]ς
 πεποιηκώς. ἐρρώσθαι σε ε[ῦ]χομαι.]
 41 Λβ[? Θῶθ] θ. (6th hand) ἐστὶ δὲ ἀ(ντίγραφον)· ἐπὶ ἐκέ-
 λευσας, κύριε, προσφωνηθῆν[αι] ἐ]γγράφως τὰ καταλημφθέντα
 42 ἐν τῷ νομῷ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου ὄντα παρὰ κωμάρχους καὶ ἄλλοις
 πρόβατά τε καὶ ὄνικα κτήνη καὶ βοῖκα [δ] καὶ ἵππικὰ [καὶ]
 43 καμήλους τὸ καθ' ἐν ὑπετάξαμεν τούτοις ἡμῶν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἵνα
 μηδὲν σου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν λανθάνη. Λβ[? Θῶθ] ς. [ἐστὶ δέ·]
 44 ἐν μὲν κώμη Σύρων παρὰ κωμάρχους πρόβατα σύνμικτα ὀβ, ἀρνίον ᾱ,
 αἶγες ὁμοίως ἰδ, [κ]αὶ ἐν ἐπο[κ]ίῳ Ἄννια[νοῦ], ὃ ἐ-
 45 στι π[ε]ρὶ κώμην Σενάω, παρὰ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐποικίου πρόβατα
 σύνμικτα ς, αἶγες ὁμοί(ως) ς, βοῦς τελεῖ[α] ᾱ, δαμά[λιον] ᾱ[?]

5 αραιώτου 8 l. διαχίλιας 18 ητ'τον 20 ὑμ. 27 οξύρνηχίτου. 28 ἰν, so too 36
38, 43 ἰπ., so too 31, 36 (ὑποτιμησασθε), 43 31 ὑμειν; l. ὑμῶν 32 l. ἐψηφίσασθε
35 οφειλεται 36 υποτιμησασθε: ε written over αι 37 ανηγε'καν 41 l. ἐπει 42 l. 'Οξύρνη-
χίτου; βόικα, ἴππικα 44 αιγες: γε written over ρε 45 l. συνμεικτα. αιγες written above εγγς, which
has been crossed out.

ll. 27-45 'Aurelius Mercurius to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome greeting. I have ordered that the letter which [your predecessor?] as strategus [wrote to the senate?] be attached for your information, in order that you may see to it that the business of the mules (?) be quickly concluded and that there be no obstruction with regard to the business of the mules. For if you do not accomplish this quickly, you will be responsible for the delay in a business of such importance. I pray for your health. The 2nd year, Thoth. . . . The following is the copy: [Being desirous that the order should be promptly executed?], I went into it with you before drawing up my minutes, and I approved the ten silver talents which were agreed on in the senate as the price of each mule; but after my departure you voted in the council chamber that seventeen talents should be paid (for each mule). [? Since therefore I], saying it was clear from the fact that (. . . .) that you were prepared to carry out the order, you are to provide for the payment without delay of ten talents per mule, both for the city and for the nome, in order that thus there may be no obstruction with regard to. . . . For if now also you try to make excuse and will not perform the business, you must bear the risk which will follow. And in order that you may not allege ignorance, I have ordered the relevant documents to be attached. The 2nd year, Thoth. . . .

'Copy of another letter. Aurelius Mercurius to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome greeting. I have ordered a communication referred to me by Eugraphius and Agathos Daimon, the *officiales* of the *procurator usiacus*, to be appended for your information, in order that you may see to it that the number registered under each village of livestock bred there be maintained and that you make provision for zealous attention to the breeding, making known to me how you have proceeded. I pray for your health. The 2nd year, Thoth 9. The following is the copy: Since you ordered us, my lord, to state in writing the sheep, donkeys, cows, horses, and camels found in the Oxyrhynchite nome in the charge of comarchs and others, we have attached to this letter a detailed list, in order that nothing may escape your attention. The 2nd year, Thoth 6. It is as follows: In the village of the Syrians with the comarchs 72 miscellaneous sheep, one lamb, 14 ditto goats, and in the hamlet of Annianus, which is in the territory of the village of Senao, with the people of the hamlet 6 miscellaneous sheep, 6 ditto goats, one full-grown cow, one calf.'

I. 1]γμα[:]μμο[seems equally possible. (B.)

II. 5-11 This letter perhaps relates to the delivery of the military *annona*; cf. 1115 3, Hohlwein, 'Le Stratège' in *Musée belge de phil. class.* xxix (1925), pp. 109-14.

5 [Ἀπό] τοῦ Ἀραιωῖτου: the restoration is doubtful, but we may perhaps compare ἀπό 'Ρώμης, e.g. P. Amh. 3^a ii. 25 and 1407 16.

7]δεν: perhaps δειν with an infinitive in the next lacuna, but]ζειν (E. P. W.) is also possible. (B.)

7-8 Perhaps δια[δόσεως is to be restored.

8-9 δραχμῶς διαχειλίας διακο[σίας: for the payment of the cost of articles delivered for the *annona* cf., e.g., P. Flor. ii. 278, Lesquier, *L'armée romaine*, pp. 349-75, and see also P.S.I. 683, 15-16, requisitions for the visit of the Emperor Septimius Severus.

10 For the responsibility of the strategus cf. Hohlwein, op. cit., xxviii (1924), pp. 197-202.

III. 12-14 Probably an order to the strategus to transmit the amounts collected to the prefect. Here too the military *annona* may be in question; cf. 1115 18, Reinmuth, *The Prefect*, pp. 80-1.

13 ὕ]πρηρέτου τῆς στρατηγίας: cf. Hohlwein, op. cit., xxviii, p. 214.

14 πρὸ τῆς ἀφί]ξεως αὐτοῦ: i.e. before the *διαλογισμός*. For the restoration cf., e.g., P. Lips. 64, 35 and 47.

IV. 15-21 The collection on account of the revenues for the centurions in the preceding year was less than was counted upon. The present letter orders the strategi to collect the deficit.

15 Θῶθ κ̄η: it is clear from the hand that the date belongs to this letter.

16 στρατηγοῖς τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων νομῶν: for other official letters addressed to 'the strategi of the hereinafter-mentioned nomes' cf. 2184 7 n. The list of these nomes, which will have been appended to the original letter, has apparently not been copied. The present order was perhaps

issued by the prefect (cf. 21 n.); hence we might restore at the beginning of this line *Αὐρήλιος Μερκούριος* (cf. ll. 27 and 37).

18 ταῖς τοῦ ταμείου ψήφοις: cf. P. Lips. 64, 37 ὡς λίτραν χρυσοῦ ταῖς ταμιακαῖς ψήφοις δοῦναι προσταχθήσει. These words should perhaps go with *λημματίσαι ἦττον* 'that he had received less on the account of the fiscus'.

λημματίσαι: the meaning 'receive' is new; hitherto the verb *λημματίζω* has occurred in the papyri with the meanings 'place to credit' or 'deliver' (cf. Gelzer, *Byz. Verwaltung*, pp. 49-50) and 'enter in the register' (cf. P. Osl. iii. 88, 23 n.).

19 καλῶς: formed exactly like *κανως*. Perhaps ν was erroneously written for λ. (B.)

19-20 The method by which a deficit in the taxation-revenues was collected was the *μερισμός*; cf. W. O. i, pp. 256 seqq., Persson, *Staat und Manufaktur*, pp. 31-3.

20-1 ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων: it is clear from these words that the penalty of the strategi in case of delay consisted in the collection of the arrears from their own property; cf. 10 n. [Perhaps something like [πῶρον πραχθήσεται τὸ ἀφειλόμενο]ν followed. B.]

21 *Αὐρήλιος Δράκων πρίγκιψ*: sc. τῆς ἡγεμονίας; cf. 1637 10 n., 1722 1, Reinmuth, *The Prefect*, p. 13. The occurrence in this line of the name of the chief of the prefect's *officium* makes it probable that the prefect was the author of this letter, which was probably written and sent off by our Aurelius Dracon.

V. 25 Miss Wegener's reading ignores the L at the beginning of this line and the trace of a letter (here doubtfully read β) after it, and amalgamates what follows with the entry printed in the text as an inserted line (25b), as follows: ∠ εἰσελθόντ(ος) [Θῶθ .]ε̄ εἰς ρ[.]. The stroke, however, printed above as L is quite clear and exactly resembles the year symbol in l. 41. There seems to be a clear trace of a letter (not inconsistent with β in its cursive form, though in ll. 30, 41 the other form is used) immediately following it, and the later traces appear to be in a line with this rather than with 25b, which moreover is probably in a different hand from the rest, though it may have been written by one of the other clerks employing a more cursive hand than usual. The date may of course be the 7th, 17th, or 27th Thoth, but if ι or κ preceded a slight space was left between it and ζ. The space before εἰσ. shows that that is part of a separate phrase. Miss Wegener suggested εἰς 'Ρ[ώμην], i.e. a letter to the Emperor, but this is improbable, and it seems quite possible to read εἰσι [δὲ, as a specification of something mentioned in the letter. The date here must refer to the preceding, not as in previous cases to the following letter; so too in l. 41 (where it is to be noted that ἐστι δὲ ἀντίγραφον) follows). Here, if εἰσι [δὲ is correct, the list which should follow may have been omitted; but if this is another circular letter a specification of the nomes concerned (εἰσι δὲ not in P. Iand. 140, 12 as restored, but conceivably lost in the lacuna there) might well have been inserted. Mr. Roberts, however, suggests that εἰς Τῶλθιν (see next note) may be a correction or amplification of this: 'deliver to α or, failing that, to Tholthis.' (B.)

25b Read by Miss Wegener ∠ εἰσελθόντ(ος), but the relevance of this, especially after the date in the previous line, is not clear. Τῶλθιν seems a very possible form for Θῶλθιν, a well-known Oxyrhynchite village, which in P. Hib. 62, 9 appears in the form Θῶλτις. Perhaps a copy of this letter was sent, for administrative purposes, to Tholthis. The symbol before εἰς, which is different in shape from the year symbol as elsewhere written, may be intended merely as a sign of insertion. (B.)

26 This line introduces the next two letters. β[. . .]ε̄ is difficult. One naturally thinks of something like ἄλλων (e.g.) [κομ]ισθ(έντων) δι(ὰ), the name of the messenger being omitted, but (1) the space is too large for κομ, and (2) Miss Wegener reads a β, not marked as doubtful, before the lacuna. There is now no trace of this letter, the break coming immediately after the ν of ἄλλων, but a small detached scrap shows a clear β. Was this previously attached to the main papyrus? A close examination of the fibres, despite a superficial plausibility, makes the connexion extremely doubtful, but Miss Wegener may have thought it possible. β might be the numeral, 'two others', referring to VI and VII. If so, we might perhaps venture to read [χρηματ]ισθ(έντων) δι(ὰ), the name of the registering clerk perhaps not being known at the moment of writing. (B.)

VI. 27-36 An order from the prefect to hasten the delivery of the mules, presumably for military purposes. He appends a copy of a letter on the subject addressed to a senate. So much is clear, but there is much uncertainty as to the authorship of the enclosed letter and the identification of the senate. That Aurelius Mercurius, though hitherto unknown, was the prefect of Egypt seems certain

from the last letter (VII); see note *ad loc.* What we have in the remainder of this column is (1), ll. 27-30, the letter of Mercurius to the strategus of Oxyrhynchus covering the copy of another letter; (2), ll. 30-6, the letter referred to, which, though the address is omitted, was evidently sent to a senate (l. 32), itself covering the enclosure of certain other documents (l. 36); (3), ll. 37-41, a letter from Mercurius to the strategus of Oxyrhynchus covering the copy of a return made to the prefect; (4), ll. 41-5, a copy of the return in question. In view of l. 36 it is natural at first sight to take (3) and (4) as the documents there referred to, which would show that the writer of (2) was the strategus of Oxyrhynchus and the senate addressed the Oxyrhynchite; but this is impossible, since (3) and (4) relate to a different subject, the declarations of livestock. Clearly then the enclosures referred to in l. 36 were not copied here, and items (3) and (4) throw no light on the authorship of (2). In fact *ἐτέρας* in l. 37 refers back to the *ἄλλων* of l. 26; this is the second of the letters thus introduced. That (2) was from the prefect himself is ruled out both by the traces in l. 27, where *στ[ρ]ατη[γός]*, though not beyond question, is highly probable, and by the intimate relations between the writer and the senate revealed in the letter. The choice is between the epistrategus, the strategus of Oxyrhynchus, and some other strategus. It has been generally accepted ever since the publication of Martin's *Les Épistratèges* that the epistrategus was not much concerned in financial matters, for which the strategus were directly responsible to the prefect, but the supply of mules was presumably a military, rather than a financial, affair, so that the epistrategus can hardly be ruled out *a priori*. That the prefect should send the strategus a copy of the latter's own letter is inconceivable. If, therefore, the writer of (2) was a strategus at all he must be either the strategus of some other nome, whose letter is sent for guidance as to procedure at Oxyrhynchus, or the predecessor of the present holder of the office in the latter nome. Miss Wegener therefore read in l. 27 *ἐπι[στ]ρατη[γός] ἔγραψεν ὁ πρὸ σοῦ* *στ[ρ]ατη[γός] τῆς ἐπιστολῆς*. This, however, seems impossible. Not only does it create great difficulties for the restoration at the end of the line but the necessary supplement in the earlier lacuna (13 letters) is certainly too long. The same space in l. 38, where the restoration is certain, holds nine letters, and in l. 35, with a much smaller and more compressed hand, about twelve. Moreover, the reading *ἐπι*, though quite possible, is far from certain and, as already said, makes restoration difficult. It is equally possible, and more in accordance with the usual style of such letters (cf. l. 37 below), to read *ἦν* (*ἦς* with *ἀντίγραφον* following later is impossible). *λῆς* in l. 28 is, however, a difficulty. Later lines indicate that we cannot safely reckon on a loss of much more than 20 letters at the end of this line. To read here *ἦν* [*ὁ πρὸ σοῦ*] (or [*ὁ*]) *στ[ρ]ατη[γός] ἔγραψεν τῷ πρυτάνει* (or *γραμματεῖ*) *τῆς βουλῆς* (supposing *ἐπιστολὴν* to be understood or accidentally omitted) would yield too long a supplement at the end and *ὁ πρὸ σοῦ* is rather short in the earlier lacuna. [*ὁ ἐπι*] *στ[ρ]ατη[γός]* is even less satisfactory in this last respect, but [*ὁ* followed by the name of another nome (perhaps abbreviated? but there are no other abbreviations), is not impossible. No satisfactory supplement for the final lacuna has suggested itself. Is it permissible to postulate a scribal error and correct to *ἦν* [*ὁ πρὸ σοῦ*] *στ[ρ]ατη[γός] ἔγραψεν τῇ βουλῇ ἐπιστολὴν*? Even this is perhaps a little long. (B.)

27 *ἦν*: see previous note. Only the left side of *ν* remains and would suit *ε* (*ἐπι* *ε*] E. P. W.) equally well, but the left side of the *ν* of *ὑποταγήναι* in l. 28 has exactly the same shape as here. (B.)

28 *τῆν* [*τῶν βουρδάνων*] *ν* *χ[ρ]εῖαν*: for the supply of animals for the army cf. Lesquier, loc. cit., and for *χρεία* *ibid.*, p. 357 n. 7. [*τωνβουρδωνω* is rather much for the lacuna. Perhaps *βουρδωνω* was written, or, e.g., *ὑποκμμένην*. B.]

29 *αἰτίος ἔση*: [read *exempli gratia*; *αἰτίαν ἔξαις* is a possible alternative. B.]. At all events it is probable that the penalty for delay is here in question (cf. ll. 10 and 20-1 n.), as was pointed out by Miss Wegener, who suggests as an alternative reading *ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ ταῦτα ταχύνῃς, ὑποπέσει ζημία τῆς*, comparing, e.g., P. Flor. 278, ii. 12.

30-6. The copy of the letter attached to that of the prefect. For its authorship and destination, see note on ll. 27-36. As there stated, the conference of the writer with the senate rules out the prefect, and it suits a strategus better than the epistrategus; cf. Hohlwein, op. cit. xxix, p. 112. The loss of the right side makes reconstruction difficult. If the text is correct and *οὐδν* has not been accidentally omitted after *φ[ρ]ονησάτε* in l. 33, we may either make ll. 30-5 (*γένηται*) a single sentence or (perhaps preferably) assume a break in the lacuna at the end of l. 32. In the one case the run of the sentence is: 'since (l. 30) . . . I agreed (l. 31) . . . but after my departure (l. 32) . . . and (ll. 32-3) . . . take care that (l. 33) . . .', in the other 'I agreed . . . but . . . Therefore since . . . take care that.' (B.)

31 *ναὶ τὸ κελυθὸν*: *τὸ κελυθὸν* is perhaps the object of *ἐσκεψάμην*, but it might go with what precedes (e.g. 'being anxious that the order should be carried out, I consulted with you'. B.).

ἐσκεψάμην σὺν ὑμῖν: the first evidence for the presence of a strategus at a meeting of a senate. We may perhaps compare P. Lond. 2565 (*J.E.A.* xxi, 1935, pp. 224-47).

ὑπομνήματα: for the *ὑπομνήματα* or *ὑπομνηματισμοί* of the strategus cf. Hohlwein, op. cit. xxviii, p. 214, xxix, p. 37; see also Bickermann, 'Testificatio actorum' in *Aegyptus*, xiii (1933), pp. 333 seqq.

ἐδοκίμασ[α]: the restoration after this is doubtful, but we may compare for the fact that the strategus approved resolutions of the senate, e.g., 1414 4. The price was apparently not fixed by the prefect, though that seems to have been the more usual practice (cf. Reinmuth, op. cit., pp. 79, 80).

32 *ἀργυρίον τάλαντα δέκα*: [the point at issue between the strategus and the senate is the price to be paid for the mules. They were doubtless requisitioned by the government, which would naturally fix the price as low as possible (cf. Reinmuth, op. cit., p. 81), whereas the senators, some of them, it may be, personally interested, were anxious to make it as high as they dared. B.] The prices named show that the papyrus belongs to a period of inflation. We may compare the price of 10 talents for a donkey in P. Corn. 13 of A.D. 288, and of 16 talents 3,000 drachmae for a camel in B.G.U. 13 of A.D. 289. The time of the heaviest inflation being between A.D. 279 and 288 (cf. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft*, pp. 54-6, 63, 230), the second year of our document (ll. 30, 36, 41, 43) refers either to the reign of Carinus and Numerianus, A.D. 283, or to that of Diocletian, A.D. 285. The latter year is less likely because at that date Aurelius Diogenes was prefect (cf. *Klio*, xxix, 1936, p. 241 n. 1), and we know further that Aurelius Philarchus was strategus of the Oxyrhynchite from A.D. 284 to 286. We prefer therefore, on the assumption that the letter is from the previous strategus of Oxyrhynchus, to date the papyrus in 283, for which year we have here a new prefect, Aurelius Mercurius; and if the strategus of our document has just entered his office, he may be Aurelius Philarchus.

μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον κτλ.: the strategus was apparently at the meeting for part of the time only; we know that the prytanis also could leave before the end (cf. P. Lond. 2565). On the other hand, these words may refer to the departure of the strategus from the metropolis, not from the meeting. In that case the senate's vote for a higher price would be easier to explain. They may have heard that the mules could not be bought for ten talents, but were worth seventeen talents and therefore proposed in the next meeting the higher price (cf. 1414 4-9, where in a second meeting the price of yarn was raised. [But see the previous note and below, l. 33 n. B.]

ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ: if the letter is really addressed to the senate of Oxyrhynchus, this is the first mention of a *βουλευτήριον* at that city (cf. 1412 intr.) except 2110 8, 10, where, however, the word is used as a synonym of the senate. Here it may well be used of the actual chamber. (In 1412 11-12, read *εἰς ἐπιμελητῶν δ[ι]νο[μ]ασίαν*. E. P. W.)

33 *ἐκβουλεσθαι*: the reading appears certain, but a compound *ἐκβούλομαι* is hardly credible, whether the *ἐκ* be understood intensively ('very much wish') or privatively ('not wish'). Probably this is a case of haplography, and we should read *ἐκ* <τοῦ . . . εσθαι> *βούλεσθαι κτλ.* (B.)

πάσιν: the mutilation of this line is unfortunate, since it makes the exact purport of the order uncertain. Miss Wegener understood it as concerned with the fixing of the taxpayers' quota. The *βουλή*, charged with the supply of the *annona militaris* (cf. Lesquier, op. cit., pp. 361 seqq.; Méautis, *Hermopolis-la-Grande*, p. 158), fixed the amount to be paid and ordered the taxpayers to pay this (cf. 1414 5, with note). Thereafter the money was paid over by an *ἐπίσταλμα* of the *βουλή* to *ἐπιμελεται*, who were chosen by the senate, in order that they should buy the mules; cf., e.g., C. P. Herm. 92, 93, Méautis, op. cit., p. 157. The senate's next duty was to nominate *ἐπιμελεται*, to deliver the mules to the army under the supervision of the strategus; cf., e.g., 1414 19-22, 1415 4-7, C. P. Herm. 97, Méautis, op. cit., p. 168. Hence Miss Wegener suggested here, *exempli gratia, πάσιν τ[ο]ῖς [εὐπόροις] ἐν [τῇ] π[ό]λ[ε]ι* (better *ἐν τῇ π[ό]λ[ε]ι* B.) *καὶ τῷ νομῷ* (or *ἐν [τῷ] νομῷ*); but the traces are definitely against this. B.) *ἐπισταλῆναι τελέσαι*. On this view the phrase *εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν νομόν* in l. 34 means that the taxpayers must pay ten talents per mule for the city's share and that of the nome; cf., e.g., P. Lips. 57, 26 seqq. *τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τῇ πόλει ὡς μέρος κτλ.*, C. P. Herm. 92, 12-13, 93, 10 *ὑπ[ε]ρ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος τῇ πόλει τρίτου μέρους*, Méautis, op. cit., p. 159, and 1414 2 *ἀπέχω τὰ διαφέροντα τῷ νομῷ εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἕξ ἡμισυ*.

This is a quite plausible explanation and may be right, but it is certainly strange to find the senators, who after all were themselves actually or prospectively affected, putting up the amount of

the tax contribution and the strategus, as the government representative, reducing it. Is it not more likely that the point at issue is the price to be paid out of government funds for the requisitioned mules? Then the clash is between the desire of the senators, representing local interests, to screw as much as possible out of the government and that of the latter's representative to reduce the figure. This would give more point both to l. 33 ('it is clear you wish the government demands to be satisfied') and to l. 35 ('don't make the excuse that the mules cannot be got at the price'). Miss Wegener's proposed restoration, in one form, is consistent with the traces, though τ[ο]ῖς ἰς is not an altogether easy reading. On the whole it seems better to leave the lacunae unfilled. (B.)

35 ἐκτ[ί]μειν : it is not possible to read ἔχειν, nor is there room at the end of the line for τὸν ἐκ τ[ο]ῦτ[ου] ὑμῖν ἐπηρημημένον κίνδυνον (cf., e.g., 1119 10 and P.S.I. 1125, 12).

36 It is not possible to read after γενόμενα either γράμματα or ἐπιστάγματα. αὐθεντικά is equally impossible.

Λβ : it is not possible to read α. Hence the present strategus had probably just succeeded his predecessor; cf. 30-6 n. May this be the reason that so many letters were addressed to him in the month of Thoth?

VII. 37-45 An order of the prefect to the strategus to see to it that the present figure of livestock in his nome be maintained. He appends a copy of a list of the stock in the Oxyrhynchite nome handed in to him by the *officiales* of the *procurator usiacus*.

We know that in matters of taxation the prefect dealt with the strategus without the mediation of the epistrategus; cf. Hohlwein, op. cit. xxix, p. 33, Reinmuth, op. cit., p. 63. It is therefore certain that Aurelius Mercurius was prefect of Egypt. A further argument for this is the fact that he ordered the *officiales* of the *procurator usiacus* to send him the list.

This letter does not deal with the *annona militaris*, but its place in this collection may be explained by the fact that in Egypt cattle were bred in the main to be used either for the supply of food to the soldiers or for transportation purposes; cf., e.g., Lesquier, op. cit., pp. 349-75; Reinmuth, op. cit., pp. 78-81; Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 93.

41-5 The returns of livestock under the supervision of the strategus are fairly well known; cf. Hohlwein, op. cit. xxix, pp. 17-18; Wallace, op. cit., pp. 77-95. But the present document is the first evidence that in the Roman period a detailed general register of the livestock in Egypt was kept in the office of the *procurator usiacus* at Alexandria, and thus forms an interesting parallel to an unpublished Rylands papyrus which contains a similar statement for the Ptolemaic period; cf. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft*, p. 317, P. Corn. 15 intr.

42 παρά κωμάρχους : most probably the livestock belonging to the state; cf. Schnebel, op. cit., p. 320.

πρόβατα κτλ. : cf. Schnebel, op. cit., pp. 320-39.

45 It is most likely that the list was continued in the next column, which is lost.

2229. ORDER FOR DELIVERY OF A PRISONER.

8.8 × 26.8 cm.

A.D. 346-50.

An order from Eulogius, the riparius of the Oxyrhynchite nome (cf. 2235 1 n.) to a *kephalaites* to produce a prisoner immediately. Somewhat similar orders from a riparius are P.S.I. 47, P. Amh. 146; cf. Winter, *Life and Letters*, p. 116, and P. Osl. 20. The document is written across the fibres.

Π(αρά) Εὐλογίου ρίπαριου

κεφαλ(αιωτῆ) Πανευεί.

Πέτρον Παύλου,

ὄν συν[έ]λλα[β]ῆς ἐν ἐποικίῳ Πεγουλ(ίου?) Ἀφθονί[ο]υ, σπούδασον

αὐτῆς ὄρας παραστήσαι ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. (2nd hand) ἔρρωσο.

From Eulogius, riparius, to the *kephalaites* of Paneuei. Make haste to produce immediately

in the city Peter, the son of Paul, whom you have apprehended in the farmstead of Pegoul(ius?) son of Aphthonius. Farewell.

2 κεφαλ(αιωτῆ) Πανευεί : a personal name Πανέυις or Πανεύς occurs (see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*), but it seems very improbable that the title would be placed before the name, and it is better to take Πανευεί as the village name (cf., e.g., 989 and 1559 9). Village κεφαλαιωταί occur (cf., e.g., P. Cairo Preis. 6, 2, Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 226, 227), but these are officials for the *annona*. In 2233 3-4, however, occurs a κεφαλαιωτοῦ εἰρηναρχῶν of a village (cf. P.S.I. 47), and it is probable that the title here must be similarly understood. (B.)

3 Πεγουλ(ίου?) Ἀφθονί[ο]υ : no such ἐποίκιον occurs in the *Wörterbuch*, section 16a, nor is Πεγούλιος found in the *Namenbuch*, but the name may be a variant of Πεκοῦλ, which does occur as an indeclinable word (*Stud.* x. 122, 3). The sign of abbreviation here suggests a genitive form like Πεγουλλίου, less likely, at this period, Πεγουλέως. (B.) For the meaning of ἐποίκιον cf. Hardy, *Large Estates*, p. 132.

4 αὐτῆς ὄρας : for similar expressions in orders cf., e.g., 1193, 1506, P. Princ. ii. 99, 2.

(b) DECLARATIONS TO OFFICIALS

2230. DECLARATION OF CLOTH-DEALERS.

12.5 × 28 cm.

After 28 August, A.D. 119.

In the present document the guild of cloth-dealers of Heracleopolis declare to Apollonius, strategus of the Heracleopolite nome, in answer to his inquiry, that they have valued two hundred blankets, which are to be delivered to the army. It is, however, not a mere declaration, for they state at the same time that they have received the price and have delivered the blankets. On the verso are portions of two columns of a report of legal proceedings.

- 1 Ἀπολλωνίῳ στρατη[γ]ῶν] Ἡρακλεο[πολίτου]
- 2 παρὰ Ἀμμωνίου Τοθέους καὶ Ἀσφέως καὶ Νεμεσάτο[ς] ἀμφο(τέρων) Σωτηρίχου
κ[αί].....]
- 3 καὶ Ὀρίωνος καὶ Ἡρ[α]κλείδου ἀμφο(τέρων) Ἐμβήγτος καὶ Φομβῶτος Ἡρακλείου
καὶ Ἡρακ[λ].....τῶν ἦ]
- 4 ἀφ' Ἡρ(ακλέους) πόλ(εως) ἱματισπολ(ῶν). πρὸς τὴν γραφεῖσάν σοι ὑπὸ
Ἀτερίου Νέπωτος τοῦ [κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος]
- 5 ἐπιστολ(ῆν) περὶ τοῦ τὰς διακοσίας λώδικας, ἃς Ἀντώνιος Τιτᾶν ὀπίων ἐπ[ι]-
μελητῆς ἱματισμῶν]
- 6 κατελελοίπει, ὑπὸ σοῦ συντιμηθῆναι καὶ δοθῆναι τῷ [ὑπ]ὸ τοῦ Τιτᾶρο[ς] διαπε[μ]-
φθέντι στρατιώτῃ]
- 7 ἦν ἐὰν ἐρίσης τιμὴν ἐπιζητ[οῦ]ντί σοι, τί ἐπράχθ[ησα]ν, δηλοῦ[μ]εν τ[α]ύτα[ς] τὰς
διακοσίας λώδικας]
- 8 συντετευμησθαι [ὑ]πὸ τε ἡμῶν καὶ Εὐδαί[μ]ονος Σώτ[ο]υ[....]ρατο. τω[.....]
.....]

- 9 ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) Ἐχνη, καὶ ταύτας ἀποδεδ[όσθ]ε ἡμε[ί]ν ὑπὸ μὲν [...]ωγος
τῶι γ (ἔτει) Ἀ[δριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου]
- 10 μηνὶ Ἐπίειφ ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμᾶς) Δ [ι.] καὶ ὑπὸ Λουκεῖ[ου] Ἐπιδείου τῶ[...].
στρατιώτου π[α]ρ[α]λήμπτου ἱματισμῶν?
- 11 τοῦ διαπεμφθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιτᾶνος τὰς λοιπὰς ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμᾶς) Ἀχνη, καὶ
τὰς δι[α]κοσ[ί]ας λῶδικα[s.....]
- 12 [...].[παρ]εσχῆκεις . . . πῖρων ἀριθμῶι δέκα παραδεδ[όσθαι] τῶ.....[
a few traces of a following line

4 l. ἱματισμῶν(ων) 7 l. αἰρήσης 8 l. συντεμηθῆσαι 9 l. ἀποδεδοῦσθαι ἡμῖν 10 l.
Λουκίου Ἐπιδίου 12 s of [παρ]εσχῆκεις written over τ.

To Apollonius, strategus of the Heracleopolite nome, from Ammonius, son of Tothes, Aspheus and Nemesas, both sons of Soterichus, . . . son of . . ., Horion and Heraclides, both sons of Embes, Phombos, son of Heraclius, and Herac. . . , son of . . ., all eight of them inhabitants of Heracleopolis, cloth-dealers. In accordance with a letter written to you by his excellency the prefect Haterius Nepos to the effect that the two hundred blankets which Antonius Titan, *ophio* in charge of clothing, had left, were to be valued by you and whatever price you choose to be given to the soldier sent by Titan, you inquired at what price they were requisitioned. We therefore declare that these two hundred blankets have been valued by us and Eudaemon son of Sotas, the representative of the (?) . . . at 5,658 silver drachmae; and that these have been paid to us by . . . on in the third year of Hadrian the lord, in the month of Epeiph, 4,000 silver drachmae, and by Lucius Epidius, the . . . soldier, collector of clothing, who was sent by Titan, the remaining 1,658 silver drachmae; and that the two hundred blankets have been delivered to . . . [for the maniples named by you?] . . .

1 Apollonius, strategus of the Heracleopolite nome, occurs here for the first time in the papyrus. At the end *νομοῦ* was probably omitted.

2-4 The eight persons named in these lines may form together the guild of cloth-dealers of Heracleopolis, but they may be merely a commission selected from the guild; cf. Wilcken on B.G.U. 1572, *Archiv* viii, p. 290 seq. For the guild of cloth-workers cf. Persson, *Staat und Manufaktur*, p. 25, Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 333.

4-7 For the requisitioning of garments for the army and the part played in this by the prefect and the strategus cf. Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine*, pp. 368-9, Hohlwein, 'Le Stratège', in *Musée Belge* xxix (1925), pp. 109 seqq., Reinmuth, *The Prefect*, pp. 80-1, and see also Persson, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-37.

4 Haterius Nepos is known as prefect of Egypt from June-July or August 24-28 (according as we read in the papyrus edited by Guéraud, *Mélanges Desrousseaux*, 199-200, Ἐπίειφ or ἐπι[αγομένων] A.D. 120 till April A.D. 124; cf. Reinmuth, *op. cit.*, p. 134. For the date of the present document see note on ll. 9-10.

5 λῶδικας: it appears then that the weaving of blankets was not confined to Arsinoë (cf. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 338).

ὄπιων ἐπιμελητῆς ἱματισμῶν: for this restoration cf. Fay. Ostr. 19, where an ὄπιων ἐπιμελητῆς αἴτου occurs, and Lesquier, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-7.

7 τί ἐπράχθησα: apparently an abbreviated way of expressing τίνος τιμῆς ἐπράχθησαν. (B.)

8 The office of Eudaemon is unknown owing to the mutilation of the papyrus; perhaps (e.g.) [τοῦ πα]ρὰ τῶν τῶν γερδίων ἰσωνάρχου. (B.) In B.G.U. 1564 an agoranomus acts jointly with the ἱματ(ι)οσ(α)ραλήμπται. It is, however, more likely that his task was similar to that of the persons who declare on oath to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome in A.D. 191-2 (P. Princ. ii. 27 verso) that they will attend to the παράδοσις and συντίμησις of the garments to be shipped to Alexandria.

8-9 Between these two lines a line has been inserted, starting after the sum in l. 9. Its purport is obscure owing to the bad condition of the papyrus, which makes decipherment difficult. It appears to read ἡ συντεμηθεῖσα π[...].τ[...].εστ[...].ς ἄ[...].μα. It is not possible to read π[ρὸς] τὸ τ[ὸ] ἐν[εστ]ῶ[τος] ἄ[...](ἔτους), which is in any case impossible, since the third year is mentioned in l. 9 as past. (B.)

9-11 The price of the blankets was apparently paid in two instalments. The most probable explanation is that the first instalment, paid in Epeiph of the third year of Hadrian, was a prepayment; cf. B.G.U. 1564. We know from B.G.U. 1572 that a year and a half might elapse after the prepayment before the garments were delivered; cf. the note of the editor on ll. 2-3. The date of the present document is therefore uncertain. We can only state that it is after August 4, A.D. 119, on which date Rammius Martialis was still prefect, and presumably after August 28, 119, since the year is not spoken of as *ἐνεστῶτι*.

10 Λουκεῖ[ου]: Λοκρη[τίου] was read by Miss Wegener, but repeated examinations with a magnifying glass in varying degrees of light have failed to make this credible. The reading in the text is far from certain, and *ou* is not much for the space, but the dotted letters are all possible, and the hand is so irregular that a sprawling *v* might fill up the space. (B.)

12 πῖρων: σπιρῶν (= σπειρῶν) naturally suggests itself, and some such reading as λῶδικα[s λόγω δὲν ἀνόμασας] σπιρῶν would suit the context excellently, but [παρ]εσχῆκεις (a very probable reading) is intractable. The letter before πῖρων might well be *s*, and as the *s* of [παρ]εσχῆκεις is written over a *τ*, which has been imperfectly washed out, the word may originally have been *παρεσχῆκετε*, in which case nothing need be supposed between it and πῖρων. There is perhaps hardly room for λόγω δὲν τὰ δνό[μ]ατ[α] (quite possible palaeographically) *παρ]εσχῆκεις*, and the construction would be awkward, but the sense of the passage is very likely something of that kind. In ll. 11 and 12 eight or nine letters fewer are lost than in preceding lines. (B.)

2231. NOTIFICATION OF SUCCESSION.

34.6 × 6 cm.

A.D. 241.

Aurelia Thermuthion declares to the βιβλιοφύλακες, in order that they may make the proper παράθεσις, that she is the legal heir of her daughter Techosis, who has died intestate; a translated copy of the *agnitio bonorum possessionis* will be submitted at the same time to prove her claims (ll. 13-30 n.).

It was already known that a special ἀπογραφή of an inheritance had to be made (cf. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, pp. 107-19), but the present document is the first instance of a παράθεσις of succession.

- 1 (3rd hand) π[α]ρ(ετέθη).
- (1st hand) Αὐρηλίου[ς] Θέω[μ] ἀγορα-
ρομήσαρτι κ[αὶ] Δι[ο]σκου-
ρ[ί]δῃ τῶ κ[α]ὶ Πτολεμαίω
5 ἀμφοτέροις βουλ(ευταῖς) βιβλ(ιοφύλαξιν)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Θ[ερμου]θίου
χρηματιζούσης μητ[ρ]ὸς
Τ[α]πιώμι[ο]ς ἀ[π'] Ὁξ[υρ]ύγ[χων]
πόλεως μ[ε]τὰ [σ]υνεστ[ῶ]-
10 τος Αὐρηλίου Σερήνου ἐπικε-
κλημένου Λεωνίδου
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.
ἧς πεποιήμαι παρὰ

15 Δομιτίω Φιλίππ[ω] ἐ-
 πάρχω, ο(ὐ)χὶ τότε ο[ὐ]στρα-
 τηλάτῃ, διακατοχῆς
 Ῥωμαϊκῆς κληρονομί-
 as τῆς θυγατρὸς μου Τε-
 20 χώσιος Πλουτάρχου
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
 τετελευτηκυίας [ἀ]τέ-
 κνου καὶ ἀδιαθέτο[υ]
 με[τ]ὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
 αὐτῆς τελευτ[ῆ]ν ἐπ' ἔμοι
 25 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους κληρο-
 νόμω, ἀντίγραφον [ἐ]ρμη-
 νευθὲν Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμ-
 μασι κατὰ τ[ὸ] δυνατόν ἐπι-
 30 φέρ[ο]υσα ὑμῖν ἐν δ[υσ]ί
 ἀντιγράφοις ἐπιδ[ιδω]-
 μι τὸ ὑπόμνημα πρ[ὸ]ς
 τὸ τ[ῆ]ν δεο[ῦ]σαν πα[ρά]-
 θεσιν γενέσθ[αι] καὶ δ[ι]μνύ[ω]
 τὸν Ῥ[ω]μα[ί]οις ἕ[θ]ιμο[υ]
 35 ὄρκον μ[ὴ] ἐψευδο[ῦ]μαι. [L] δ
 Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρ[ο]ς Κ[αί]σ[α]ρο[ς]
 Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ
 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
 40 Τύβι ̅. (2nd hand) Αὐρηλία Θερμοῦ-
 θιον ἐπιδέδωκα
 καὶ ὄμοσα τὸν ὄρκον.
 Αὐρήλιος Σερῆνο[ς] ἐ[πι]-
 κεκλημένος Λεωνίδης
 συνέστην αὐτῇ καὶ
 45 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ
 εἰδυίας γράμματα.
 (4th hand) Αὐρήλ[ιος] Διοσκουρίδης
 βιβλ[ιο]φύλαξ) σεσημ[ειώ]μαι.

17 ρωμαϊκῆς 21 l. τετελευτηκυίας 46 l. εἰδυίας.

'Entered in the register. To Aurelius Theon, ex-agoranomus, and Aurelius Dioscurides also called Ptolemaeus, both senators and keepers of the archives, from Aurelia Thermuthion, styled after her mother Tapiomis, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, acting with Aurelius Serenus surnamed Leonides of the same city. I submit to you in two copies a copy, translated into Greek to the best of my power, of the (claim to a) deed of succession to the Roman inheritance of my daughter Techosis, daughter of Plutarchus, of the same city, who died after her father without children and intestate, leaving me as her heir in accordance with the laws, which claim I have made before the prefect Domitius Philippus, who was not at that time stratelates; and I present this memorandum in order that the proper entry may be made; and I swear the oath customary with Romans that I have not made a false statement. The 4th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, Tybi 6. I, Aurelia Thermuthion, have presented and sworn the oath. I, Aurelius Serenus surnamed Leonides, was associated with her and wrote on her behalf, as she is illiterate.

I, Aurelius Dioscurides, keeper of the archives, have signed.'

1 π[α]ρ(εέθη): this reading is doubtful but cf., e.g., 713, 1268, and Eger, *Grundbuchwesen*, p. 146.

2 The βιβλιοφύλακες of the year 241 are unknown, hence the name Θεών is only a tentative restoration; there is certainly no room for a longer name.

13-30 These lines refer to the request for *bonorum possessio*, which was as usual addressed to the prefect of Egypt; cf. Kreller, op. cit., pp. 124-6; Reinmuth, *The Prefect*, pp. 47, 92, 106-8. A new feature in our document is that two translated copies of this request were submitted to the βιβλιοφύλακες (cf. Kreller, op. cit., p. 113); a similar statement is made in P. Oxford 7, a request for the registration of an inheritance, which is, however, not addressed to the βιβλιοφύλακες.

14-16 Domitius Philippus occurs here for the first time as prefect of Egypt; as such he is the immediate predecessor of Annianus, who is known as prefect for the year 241; cf. Reinmuth, op. cit., p. 138. Very interesting, however, is the statement that at the date of our document, the 1st of January 241, he was no longer prefect, but στρατηλάτης, in which office he is known from P. Berl. Leihgabe 9, 2. The lapse of time between the *agnitio bonorum possessionis* and the present request for παράθεσις may have been rather short (cf. P. Ross.-Georg. ii. 26, 12 n.), so it is very likely that Domitius Philippus entered on the latter office on the 1st of January.

Kalén discusses in his note on P. Berl. Leihgabe 9, 2 the possibility that our Domitius was related to L. Domitius Honoratus, prefect of Egypt in the reigns of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander; he mentions further, following *RE*. v. cols. 1315-16, that there occurs in the year 240 a Domitius as *praefectus praetorio*. This opinion is based on a rescript of the Emperor Gordian in *Cod. Just.* i. 50, 1 of November 3, A.D. 240. It seems more probable, however, that the Domitius in this rescript is not a *praefectus praetorio* (see below); the content of the rescript ('In causa quae spectat ad utilitatem rei publicae eum qui vice praesidis provinciae administrat potuisse cognoscere in dubium non venit') suggests rather that he was a *praeses provinciae*. And if we may take this as a general title, the rescript was addressed to him as prefect of Egypt. In that case he is certainly identical with the Domitius of our document; he occurs also in *Cod. Just.* viii. 30, 2 of May 19, A.D. 240.

The question arises what post is meant here by the word. In the Byzantine age στρατηλάτης was the Greek equivalent of *magister militum*, but the date of this text is too early for that. Does it mean *praefectus praetorio*? The address in *Cod. Just.* might favour that; if Domitius, after being prefect of Egypt, became *pr. pr.*, the compilers might well use the later title. On the other hand, this might happen even if there were an interval between the two offices. στρατηλάτης is hardly the equivalent we should expect to find for the Latin title of an office which was now largely administrative, and it may well be that, as suggested by Prof. Last, Domitius received some special command in view of the danger from Persia. Such a position would well suit the part played by him in P. Berl. Leihgabe 9. It is unfortunate that the phrase preceding the word is not certain (see l. 15 nn.) It is not possible to read ὄχημάτων. (B.)

15-16 στρατηλάτῃ; cf. Grosse, *Röm. Militärgesch.*, pp. 148, 183 seqq., and Kiessling, *RE.*, s.v.

15 ο(ὐ)χί: there is a hole in the papyrus in the middle of the word, but the letter following ο seems clearly to be χ rather than υ. Hence, unless the υ was made in the form of a curved stroke over ο (the papyrus is rubbed there), which would be very unusual at this period, the scribe would appear to have written οχι. (B.)

τότε ο[δ]ν: ὄντι cannot be read, though ο[δ]ν is far from certain and even τότε is doubtful. τὸ τότε seems impossible, but the phrase in the text is certainly strange, though no alternative has suggested itself. (B.)

28 κατὰ τ[ὸ] δυνάτον (cf., e.g., P. Harr. 67 ii, 11): these words favour the opinion of Eger and Kreller that the petitioners themselves were responsible for the translation; cf. Meyer, *Jurist. Pap.* p. 74. Of course it does not follow that Thermuthion had made the translation herself; she doubtless employed a professional translator.

32-3 On παράθεσις see Flore in *Aegyptus* viii, pp. 68-73. The present παράθεσις is to be made on the folium of Techosis, or perhaps still on that of Plutarchus.

33-5 For the oath see Seidl, *Der Eid* i, pp. 33-6, 87-9, 134.

35 δ: there was no Tybi in the first year of Gordian; hence ᾱ, the only other equally likely reading, is excluded.

2232. NOMINATION TO OFFICE.

25.5 × 14 cm.

A.D. 316.

The present nomination to office of two collectors, addressed to the *praepositus pagi* (cf. 2124 introduction), is preserved in duplicate. The text printed below is taken from the better copy; variant readings in the duplicate B are recorded in the notes.

Ἀυρηλίω Ἡρᾶ Διονυσίου ἄρξαν[τι]

βουλευτῆ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρ(υγχιτῶν) πόλεως
πρεποσί(τω) τοῦ ἡ' πάγου

παρα Ἀυρηλίω Πατερῆως Μενχῆτ[ος]

5 θεσσαλαρίου καὶ Πανσίρις Φλαβίου κα[ὶ Ὁρίων]

Μενχῆτος ἀμφοτέρων κωμαρχῶν

τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Κεσμούχεως

τοῦ ὑπὸ σέ πάγου. δίδομεν τῷ ἰδίῳ [ἡμῶν]

κινδύνῳ πρὸς ἀπέτησι κρέως καὶ

10 ἀχύρου ὄντας εὐπόρους καὶ ἐπιτη-

δίου πρὸς τὴν χρίαν. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀυρηλίοι

ἀπαιτητῆς κρεῶς

Θῶνις Μενχῆτος

ἀπετητῆς ἀχύρου

15 Πάνθηρος Ἀμόιτος.

ὑπατίας Καικινίου Σαβίνου καὶ Οὐε[ττίου]

Ῥουφίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων Παῦν[ι]

(2nd hand) Ἀυρηλίοι Πατερῆους καὶ Πανσίρις κ[αὶ]

Ὁρίων ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. Ἀυρηλίου Ἀπολλοφάνης]

20 ἀξιωθείς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδότην [γράμματα.]

3 l. πραιποσί(τω) 5 l. θεσσαλαρίου, Πανσίριος, Ὁρίωνος 9 l. ἀπαιτησι 10 s of ευπορους a correction; the scribe had begun to write at this point the κ of και, and did not delete what he had written 10-11 l. ἐπιτηδείου 11 l. χρίαν 14 l. ἀπαιτητῆς 16 l. ὑπατείας

'To Aurelius Heras, son of Dionysius, ex-magistrate, senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, praepositus of the 8th pagus, from Aurelius Patereus, son of Menches, *lesserarius*, Aurelius Pausiris, son of Flavius, and Aurelius Horion, son of Menches, both comarchs of the same village of Kesmouchis in the pagus under your charge. We present at our own risk for the office of collectors of meat and chaff persons who are well-to-do and suitable for the service. They are: Aurelius Thonis, son of Menches, for the office of collector of meat, Aurelius Pantherus, son of Amois, for the office of collector of chaff. In the consulship of Caecinius Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus the most illustrious, Payni . . . Presented by us Aurelius Patereus, Aurelius Pausiris, and Aurelius Horion. I, Aurelius Apollonphanes, wrote for them at their request, as they are illiterate.'

1 Ἀυρηλίω Ἡρᾶ: the same *praepositus pagi* occurs in 2113, 2114, and 2124 of the year 316 and 1425 of the year 318. In these documents he is styled either simply Aurelius Heras or Aurelius Heras also called Dionysius. Here we learn that his father was Dionysius and that he was an ex-magistrate and senator of Oxyrhynchus.

2 λαμ(πρᾶς): B writes the word in full.

3 πρεποσί(τω) τοῦ: the abbreviation is not indicated; perhaps therefore we should read *πρεποσίτου* as a mistake for *πραιποσίτω*, omitting τοῦ.

Πατερῆως: B reads *Πετερῆως*, probably the genitive of *Πατερῆς* or *Πετερῆς* (cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* s.v.), of which nominative both copies have the hitherto unknown variant *Πατερῆους* in the subscription.

4-6 B omits the fathers' names.

5 θεσσαλαρίου: see 1425 5 n. After this word the scribe has apparently omitted in both copies κώμης Κεσμούχεως, as seems to be indicated by τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης in l. 7.

Πανσίρις: B has correctly *Πανσίριος* and Ὁρίωνος; in the present copy there is hardly room even for the nominative form Ὁρίων.

7 Κεσμούχεως: for this village in the 8th pagus see 1425 4 n.

9 κινδύνῳ: B has incorrectly κινδύνου.

10 Before ὄντας the scribe has omitted in both copies the words τοὺς ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένους; cf., e.g., 1425 8-9, 2124 10-11.

12 ἀπαιτητῆς κρέως: B reads *ἀπετητῆς ἀκρεως*; he probably began to write *ἀχυρου* and omitted to delete the α.

14 ἀπετητῆς: B reads *ἀπαιτητῆς*.

19 Ἀπολλοφάνης] supplied from B.

2233. DECLARATION TO THE RIPARII.

11 × 17.7 cm.

A.D. 350.

Owing to the mutilation of the last four remaining lines and the loss of the lower part the nature of the present document is not completely certain. There had been an assault by certain inhabitants of the village of Tychinphagi against the people of the *ἐποίκιον* of Ptolema (?) (cf. Milne, *A History of Egypt*, pp. 33-4, 121-2, 271 sqq.). The chief of the irenarchs and two irenarchs had been ordered by the riparii to produce the delinquents and probably also to investigate the matter on the spot. This document is most probably their report.

Ὑπατείας Σεργίου καὶ Νυγρινιαγοῦ τῶν λαμ(προτάτων) Παῦνι ἰγ.

Φλαουίους Εὐλογίῳ καὶ Θεοδούλῳ ῥιπαρίοις Ὁξυρυγχείτου

παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ὠρου Παύλου ἀπὸ κώμης Ταμπιτὶ ζ' πάγου κεφαλαι-
 ωτοῦ εἰρηναρχῶν καὶ Παπνουθίου Ἀκώριος καὶ Παύλου Χαιρήμονο(ς)
 5 ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ κώμης Σέσφθα ι' πάγου εἰρηναρχῶν. ἐπισταλέν-
 τες ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐμμελείας περὶ τῆς γεγενημένης ἐπε-
 λε[ύ]σεως ὑπὸ [τ]ῶν ἀπὸ κ[ώ]μης Τυχινφάγων κατὰ τῶν ἀπὸ ἐποι-
 κίου Πτολεμα[.....γ]ενομένων, ὥστε ἐκεῖσαι παρα-
 γενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοψίαν? καὶ παράστασι τῶν [αἰ]τίων, γενόμε-
 10 νοι ἢ[μ]εῖς.....Σέ[σ]φθα διὰ κωμ[ητ]ῶν, ἀ κατει-
 λήφ[ασι].....[.....].[.....].[.....]. ε[...]

1 ὑπατείας, παῖνι 2 φλαουίος 4 χαιρήμονο 6 ὑμων 1. ἐμμελείας 7 ὑπο 8 l.
 ἐκέισε

' In the consulship of Sergius and Nigrinianus the most illustrious, Payni 13. To Flavius Eulogius and Flavius Theodulus, riparii of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Horus, son of Paulus, from the village of Tampiti in the 7th pagus, chief of the irenarchs, and Aurelius Papnuthius, son of Acoris, and Aurelius Paulus, son of Chaeremon, both inhabitants of the village of Sespthta in the 10th pagus, irenarchs. Being required by your grace, in connexion with the assault made by certain inhabitants of the village of Tychinphagi against the people of the hamlet of Ptolema . . ., to go thither for [investigation] and production of the delinquents, we . . .'

2 Φλαουίος Εὐλόγιω καὶ Θεοδούλω: it is very tempting to identify these two riparii with Theodulus, the writer, and his father, Eulogius, the recipient of a fourth-century letter of unknown origin (P. Princ. ii. 98). For Eulogius see 2235 1 n.

3-4 κεφαλαιωτοῦ εἰρηναρχῶν: this title occurs here for the first time in the papyri, but the κεφαλαιω-
 τῆς (the word must clearly be read as a singular) of P.S.I. 47, 2 was no doubt a κεφαλαιωτῆς εἰρηναρχῶν; cf. 2229 2. In the papyri κεφαλαιωτῆς is one of the titles for the president of a gild; cf. Norsa, 'Elezione del κεφαλαιωτῆς di una corporazione' (*Annali d. R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, vi (1937), 1-7 and Boak, 'The Organization of Gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt' (*Trans. Am. Philol. Ass.* lxxvii (1937), 212-20, and see also Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 225-9. Hence the occurrence of the title in our document may point to an organization of the irenarchs into a gild.

5 εἰρηναρχῶν: the word order in this line and the fact that they are to go away from their own village for investigation (l. 8) proves that they are irenarchs of the nome; cf. Oertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-4, and 2107 introd.

7 Τυχινφάγων: probably a mis-spelling for Τυχινφάγων; cf., e.g., 1285 36.

8 Πτολεμα[.....]: an ἐποίκιον Πτολεμαῖος occurs in 989, but there was also an ἐποίκιον Πτολεμαῖδος in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf., e.g., 43 recto iii. 3, 9 and P.S.I. 954, 44 and 55. Before γενομένων we may restore, e.g., ἐνταῦθα or ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς.

9 The restoration αὐτοψίαν is suggested by ll. 10-11, otherwise ἀναζήτησις is a possible reading; cf., e.g., 897 9-10.

10 Σέ[σ]φθα: the reading is probable but makes it somewhat difficult to find a supplement. Perhaps the sense is that the irenarchs were detained by local duties at Sespthta and were therefore represented by deputies. Miss Wegener read]σφρα. (B.)

(c) PETITIONS

2234. PETITION TO A CENTURION.

23 × 13 cm.

A.D. 31.

This petition is addressed to the centurion Quintus Gaius Passer by Hermon; he complains of damage and assault caused to him by some fishermen and a soldier. For the competence of the centurion see Meyer, *Jurist. Papyri*, pp. 281-2, and (e.g.) P. Mich. iii. 175 (with introd.), P. Osl. ii. 21 and 23.

Κυ[ίντ]ωι Καίωι Πάσσερι ἑκατοντάρχη
 παρὰ Ἐρ[μ]ωνος τοῦ Δημητρίου. ὑπάρχει μοι πε-
 ρὶ κώμην Τῆν τῆς Θμοισεφῶι τοπαρχίας τοῦ
 Ὀξυρρυχείτου παππικὸς πατρικὸς κλήρως Δρύ-
 5 ου λεγόμενος, ἐν [δ]ι δημόσιον χῶμα καὶ λάκ-
 κος κατὰ μέσον τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ ναύβια
 καὶ ἕτερα ὑπὲρ τε πάντων τελῶν τὰ καθή-
 κοντα δημόσια, καταβιαζόμενος δὲ καὶ συν-
 αρποζόμενος ὑπὸ ἀλιέων Παύσιος καὶ {Π}
 10 Παψιοῦτος καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ Καλεοῦς καὶ
 Μέλανος καὶ Ἀττίνου καὶ Πασόιτος καὶ τῶν
 σὺν αὐ[τ]οῖς οὐκ ὄντων ὀλίγων· ἐπαγαγόν-
 τες καὶ Τύτιον στρατιώτην μετὰ πολλῶν
 15 ἡμέτ[ε]ρον λάκκον μετὰ κολλορόβων ἠλί-
 ευσαν καὶ ἀνέσπασαν ἰχθ[ῶ]ν ἄξιον ἐπὶ τὸ
 αὐτὸ [ἀ]ργυρίου Ζα, κ[α]ἰ λογοποιουμένου
 μου [αὐτοῖς] ἔγγισαν με ὡς μέλλοντές με
 ἐκπο[...]. ἐπ[ε]ῖ δὲ κατὰ πολλὰ βιάζοντα(ι)
 20 με, τὴν ἐπὶ σε καταφυ[γ]ῆν ποιούμενος
 ἀξιῶ, ἐὰν φαίγηται, ἀχθῆναι τοὺς ἐγκαλου-
 μένου[ς] ἐπὶ σε, ὅπως ἀπ[ο]δώσῃ μοι τὴν
 τιμὴν τοῦ ἰχθύος, ὡς προ[εῖρ]ῆται, εἰς δὲ τὸ μέλ-
 λον ἀποσχῶνται τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἔν' ὧ
 25 εὐεργετημένος. διευτύχ(ει).
 Λιζ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Παχῶν ιζ.

4 l. Ὀξυρρυχείτου 8 First a of καταβιαζόμενος corr. from σ. 8-9 l. συναρπαζόμενος 18 l.
 ἔγγισαν

'To Quintus Gaius Passer, centurion, from Hermon, son of Demetrius. There belongs to me near the village of Teis in the Thmoisepho toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome an allotment inherited from my paternal grandfather, called "of the Woodland", in which there is a public dyke, and a cistern, which is in the middle of my property, and cubic measures and other things; for the whole of which I pay all the appropriate public taxes. But I am suffering violence and am being robbed by the fishermen Pausis, Papsious and his brother, and Cales, Melas, Attinus, Pasois, and their companions, not a few in number. They brought also with them the soldier Titius, with many lines and knives for scaling, and coming to my cistern they fished with gaffs, and drew up fish to the total value of one silver talent. And when I remonstrated with them, they approached me with the apparent intention of . . . ing me. Because they act towards me with great violence, I have recourse to you and ask that, if it seems good to you, the accused be brought before you in order that they may pay me the price of the fish, as aforesaid, and for the future keep their hands off my property, so that I may be relieved. Farewell. The 17th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pachon 17.'

6 *ναύβια*: cf. Segrè, *Metrologia*, pp. 25, 28, 42. It is clear from the next line *ὑπὲρ τε πάντων* that the *ναύβια* were owned by the petitioner. This possession of *ναύβια* by private persons is new in the papyri, as far as we know. Perhaps they were used for the work on the public dyke mentioned in l. 5.

7 Perhaps rather *ὑπὲρ τῆ (l. δὲ)*, but the particle *τε* (answered by the *δὲ* of l. 8) seems not impossible. (B.)

7-8 For the taxes to be paid on marshes and the fishing-rights therein cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 219-21, P. Osl. iii, pp. 89-90.

9-12 It looks as if the whole corporation of fishermen came to the lake.

14-15 In these lines three different implements of the fishermen are mentioned, viz. *λίνα*, *ξύστραι*, and *κολλόροβα*. Only of the first word *λίνα* is the technical meaning certainly known. It occurs as early as Homer, *Il.* xvi. 408, as 'fishing-line'. It would be possible, taking *λίνα* here with this meaning, to interpret the present passage as implying that the fishermen fished with fishing-rods, i.e. to take *κολλόροβα* as the rods, *λίνα* as the lines, and *ξύστραι* as the hooks. Not much is known about methods of fishing in Roman Egypt; the only thing we know is that the fishermen either used boats or fished *ἀπὸ ποδός* (cf. Wallace, loc. cit.). This fact, however, implies that the system of ancient times was still in use, as for so many other professions. For a right understanding of these lines we must therefore point out first what is known about fishing in Pharaonic times. The best illustration of this is to be found in Wreszinski's *Atlas zur altägypt. Kulturgeschichte* (cf. Besta, 'Pesca e pescatori nell'Egitto greco-romano', in *Aegyptus*, ii, p. 67 n. 1). We learn thus that there were three ways of catching fish: (1) with nets (e.g. *Tafel* 24, 213 and 214); (2) with fishing-line and fish-hook (e.g. *Tafel* 106); (3) by spearing the fish (e.g. *Tafel* 2^a, 38). We see further (e.g. *Tafel* 54) that the fish was prepared immediately after being caught; the head was cut off and the fish gutted. Thereafter the fish were tied together with a cord. It appears from this that the fishing-rod was not used in Egypt. A further objection to the interpretation suggested above is P. Würzb. 5 of the year 31 B.C. This is a petition by a fisherman from Tholthis in the Thmoisepho toparchy to the strategus. He complains that his *ξύστρα ἀλιευτική*, which is worth 150 drachmae of silver, has been stolen. Wilcken suggests in his note on l. 9 that *ξύστρα* is a knife to scale the fish, but that the value stated must be exaggerated. If this is true even of a knife, for a fishing-hook such a valuation is quite impossible. The last word, *κολλόροβα*, is known only with the meaning 'crook'. This is inappropriate here; the implement intended must be a spear, probably barbed, which would explain the use of a word normally meaning a crook; in fact a gaff. This may have been employed either independently, to catch the fish by spearing (the third system mentioned above) or, as more usually with the modern gaff, to pull the larger fish ashore. The wording suggests the former use. It is proved by SB. 7529, 3 *κυνηγηθήναι*, sc. *ἰχθύδια*, that the spearing of fish was still in use in the Roman period. Of the further implements which the fishermen had with them, the *ξύστρα* was used to scale the fish, cut the head off, and gut the fish, the *λίνα* were perhaps employed to bind the fishes together, but it is also possible that both netting and spearing were resorted to, despite the apparent implication (*μετὰ κολλορόβων ἡλίεσαν*) that only the latter method was used.

16-17 A talent of silver is too high a value for a single fish. *ἰχθῶν* is clearly used collectively.

17 *λογοποιουμένου*: for the sense 'remonstrate' cf. P. Mich. 228. 10, 229. 18. Hermon, who paid the taxes, had of course the fishing rights; cf. note on ll. 7-8.

18 *ἐγγισαν*: the verb should take the dative, but the reading, though not certain, is probable.

19 *ἐκπο[.]ν*: *ἐκτε[ίνει]* E.P.W., comparing Eur. *Med.* 585, but a poetical parallel is not a good basis for taking the word here as 'kill' ('lay out'), and in any case the space seems quite insufficient. *τε[.]* is a quite possible reading (for the sprawling form of *ε* which this would imply cf. the first *ε* of *εὐεργετημένος* in l. 25), but *πο[.]* is equally likely. For *ν* after the lacuna *αι* (an aorist infinitive) could be read. *ἐκπο[ιει]* is rather suggested, but there appears to be no parallel for the use of this word as either 'kill' ('do away with') or 'remove'. Palaeographically the likeliest reading is *ἐκτε[ισ]αι*, but there seems to be no parallel for the active use of *ἐκτίνειν* as 'take vengeance on'. (B.)

26 Over *Λιζ Τιβερίου* there is an undulating line.

2235. PETITION TO THE RIPARIUS.

25.4 × 17.2 cm.

Circa A.D. 346.

The present petition is entered by Aurelius Horus on behalf of his grandchildren Peteuris and Patas. They have inherited from their father Penephis a piece of land in the territory of the village of Adaeus, but now, illegally, the scribe of Terythis is trying to force them to pay the taxes on the land to his village. The document is historically interesting, as it illustrates indirectly the economic difficulties of the time: it was increasingly hard to raise the tax quotas of the villages, and harassed officials were driven to illegal expedients in their efforts to do so. It will be noticed, too, that the petitioner invokes the old motive—the threat of *αναχώρησις*—to strengthen his case, as well as a perhaps more novel appeal *ad misericordiam*, pity for the orphan children. Other petitions to riparii are, e.g., P. Cair. Preis. 2, P. Goodsp. 15, P. Oxford 6.

Φλαουίω Εὐλογίω ἀπὸ λογιστῶν ῥιπαρίω Ὁξυρυγχ[ίτου]
 παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίω Ὡρωῦ Θεοδώρου ἀπὸ κώμης Ἀδα[ίου]
 δ' πάγου τοῦ α[ὐ]τοῦ νομοῦ. ὑπάρχει τοῖς τέκνοις τῆς ἡμ[ε]-
 5 τέρως μου θυγατρὸς, Πετεύρι καὶ Πατᾶ, ἀπὸ διαδοχῆς
 τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν Πενήφιος, ἐν πεδίοις τῆς
 αὐτῆς κώμης σιτικὴν ἰδιωτικῆς ἄρουραν μίαν
 σωματιζομένην τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν
 καὶ προειρημένου Πενήφιος καὶ ὑποστέλλουσαν
 τῇ πεδιάδι τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀδαίου ὡς καὶ διὰ τῶν π[ρὸς]
 10 ἀπαίτησιν βιβλίων ἐνιαυσίως ξνκται. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ
 Πανσίρις γραμματεὺς ἀπὸ κώμης Τερύθως τοῦ αὐ-
 τοῦ πάγου παρ' ἕκαστα ἐπιβουλεύων τοῖς ὀρ-
 φανῶν παισὶν ἐπέρχεται τούτοις δὴ ἐπὶ προφάσει
 δημοσίων τελεσμάτων τῆς α[ὐ]τῆ[ς] ἀ[ρ]ούρης μιᾶς
 15 ὡς ταύτης ὑποστέλλουσης τῇ πεδιάδι τῆς Τερύ-
 θως καινοτομίαν βουλόμενος διαπράξασθαι

ἐπὶ περιγραφῇ τῶν παίδων τῆς θυγατρὸς μου, οὐ-
 δεπώποτε γὰρ[ρ] συντελίας παρεσχέθη τοῖς τῆς Τε-
 20 ρύβεως πρακτῆρρι ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς ταύτης, τῷ μάλιστα τὸν τῆς
 ἡμετέρας κόμης ὀριδοίκτην Ἀφύγχιν χείραν ἐκδεδωκέ-
 ναι ἡμῖν ὡς τῆς Ἰα ταύτης τῇ πεδιάδι τῆς Ἀδαίου ἐν-
 φέρεσθαι, διὸ πρόσεμι ἀξιῶν τὸν προειρημένον Πανσίριν μετα-
 σταλῆναι καὶ παραγγελῆναι παύσασθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐπι-
 [βο]υλεύων τοῖς ὄρφα[ν]οῖς παισὶν μὴ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ φυγα-
 25 [δε]υθῶσι, κύριε. διευτύχει.
 (2nd hand) [Ἀυρή]λ(ιος) Ὡρος ἐ[πι]δ[ε]ξ[ε]δωκα ὁ[ς] πρόκ(εῖται). Ἀυρήλ(ιος) ?Παῦ]λος
 Πέτρου [ἐ]γ[ρα]φ[α] ὑπ(έρ) α(ὐτοῦ) ἀγρα[μμά]τ(ου).

3 ὑπαρχει 4 l. Πετεύρει 6-7 l. σιτικῆς (l. 6 n.) . . . ἀρουρα μία σωματιζομένη. 7 σωματι-
 ζομένη: the last ν added later 8 ὑποστελλουσαν (l. -ουσα); so too 15; the α of -σαν written over η
 10 l. ἐγκειται 13 l. προφάσει 14 l. ἀρούρας 18 l. συντέλεια 19 l. πρακτῆρρι, μάλιστα 20 l.
 ὀριδοίκτην 22 the last ο of προειρημένον written over η 23-4 l. ἐπιβουλεύοντα 24 φυγα
 apparently a correction but perhaps merely rewritten 26 l. ὡς

'To Flavius Eulogius, ex-logistes, riparius of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Horus, son of Theodorus, an inhabitant of the village of Adaeus in the 4th pagus of the same nome. There belongs to Peteuris and Patas, the children of my daughter, one aroura of private grain-land inherited from their father Penephis in the fields of the said village, which is registered in the name of their father, the aforesaid Penephis, and belongs to the field of the said Adaeus, as recorded yearly in the tax-rolls. But because Pausiris, the scribe of the village of Terythis in the said pagus, is continually plotting against the orphans and importunes them for public taxes on the said one aroura on the ground that this belongs to the field of Terythis, wishing thereby to introduce an innovation to the defraudation of the children of my daughter (for no taxes have ever been paid to the collectors of Terythis for this land, as appears particularly from the fact that Aphynchis, the boundary inspector of our village, has issued to us a note of hand that this one aroura is entered in the field of Adaeus), I therefore have recourse to you and ask that the aforesaid Pausiris be summoned and be ordered to cease from further plotting against the orphans, in order that they may not by his fault become fugitives, my lord. Farewell.

'I, Aurelius Horus, have presented the petition as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Paulus (?), son of Petrus, wrote for him, as he is illiterate.'

1 Flavius Eulogius is known as riparius from 897 3, for the year 346 together with Fl. Dionysarius, and 2233 2, for the year 350 together with Fl. Theodulus; he occurs further as riparius in 2229 1. In the present document he is also styled ex-logistes, which office he holds in 2115, of unknown date. But since it is probable that he held the office of riparius continuously, the present petition may be dated at latest in the year 346 and 2115 shortly before that date. It is very doubtful whether he is identical with Eulogius, the deputy-strategus in 2113, of the year 316, and Aurelius Eulogius of P. Princ. ii. 79, 2, of the year 326; for his probable identity, however, with the recipient of P. Princ. ii. 98 see 2233 2 n.

For the office of riparius see Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 284 ff. and Rouillard, *L'Administration de l'Égypte Byzantine*², pp. 156, 163.

4 μὲν is otiose.

6 σιτικῆν ἰδιωτικῆς: probably the scribe meant to write σιτικῆς ἰδιωτικῆς, sc. γῆς.

7 σωματιζομένην: for the technical meaning of this verb cf. Eger, *Grundbuchwesen*, p. 188; Avogadro in *Aegyptus*, xv (1935), p. 176; Déleage, 'Les Cadastres antiques' in *Ét. Pap.* ii, p. 141.

9-10 διὰ τῶν π[ρὸς] ἀπαίτησιν βιβλίων: for the use of the tax-rolls to investigate the proprietary rights on land cf. Déleage, op. cit., pp. 146-7.

10 ξνικται: this verb is used here as a synonym of the more usual ἀναγράφεσθαι or σωματίζεσθαι; cf. 7 n.

11 γραμματεὺς: this title as another form for κωμογραμματεὺς occurs already in the first century A.D.; cf. P. Mich. iii. 176, 23-4. Hence the present document proves that the view of Preisigke, *RE.* xi, col. 1284, followed by Oertel, op. cit., p. 157, who states that the village-scribe disappears in the third century, is too narrow; for the occurrence of the office in the Byzantine period see Rouillard, op. cit., p. 71.

For the duties of the village-scribe with regard to taxation see Preisigke, loc. cit., col. 1283; Hohlwein, 'Le Blé d'Égypte' in *Ét. Pap.* iv, pp. 54-61; cf. also Rouillard, op. cit., pp. 97, 133, 146.

12 παρ' ἑκαστα: Preisigke is certainly wrong in rendering this phrase (*Wörterbuch*, s.v. ἑκαστος) 'wider Fug und Recht'. In all the papyri he quotes, except perhaps P. Strassb. 5, 11 (where, however, the translation here given is quite possible), the context obviously favours the sense 'continually'. See L. and S., s.v. ἑκαστος, and cf. such uses of παρά as παρ' ἔτος, παρ' ἡμέραν. (B.)

18 συντελίας παρεσχέθη: a confusion between the active and the passive constructions.

19 πρακτῆρρι: for πρακτῆρ as a variant of πράκτωρ cf. 1829 6-7 n.

20 For the office of boundary inspector cf. Boak, 'Early Byzantine Papyri' in *Ét. Pap.* ii and iii, no. 3 introd., and no. 8, 10 n.

21-2 The scribe starts with ὡς followed by a genitive absolute but ends with the infinitive of the acc. and inf., which is the construction to be expected here, so we may suppress ὡς and correct to τὴν Ἰα ταύτην.

ἐνφέρεσθαι: this verb is perhaps another variant of the verbs quoted in 9-10 n.

23 αὐτὸν is superfluous.

(d) CONTRACTS

2236. SALE OF PART OF A HOUSE.

24×9.7 cm.

Early 3rd century A.D.

Aurelius Morus and Aurelia Penhierax sell a half-part of a house to Aurelius Sarapion. The document was drawn up in the office of the archidicastes, Aurelius Sarapion also called Ammonius. It is the latest example of an Alexandrian *συγχώρησις*-deed, on which class of documents see Schwartz, *Öffentliche und private Urkunde*, pp. 172 ff. Recently published examples are P. Fouad 44 (A.D. 44, Oxyrhynchus) and P. Mil. R. Univ. i. 26 (A.D. 127-8, Tebtunis).

[Ἀυ]ρήλιω Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ ἱ[ε]ρεὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆ
 [καὶ π]ρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων
 [πα]ρὰ Ἀυρήλιου Σαραπίωνος Θεώνος τοῦ Διογένους μη-
 [τρ]ὸς Σαραποῦτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλ[ε]ως καὶ παρὰ Ἀυ-
 5 [ρη]λίῳ Μῶρου Σαρᾶτος μητρὸς Σισότιτος καὶ Πενιέρακος
 [...]ατου μητρὸς Τααρθῶνιος ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ-
 [τῆς] πόλεως, ἧς δὲ Πενιέρακ[ο]ς χωρ[ῆ]ς κυρίου χρημα-
 [τιζο]ύσης κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη τέκ[ν]ων δικαίω.
 [συ]γχωροῦσι ὁ τε Μῶρος καὶ ἡ Πενιέ[ρ]αξ πεπρακεῖναι

- 10 [τῷ Σ]αραπίωνι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον τὸ ὑ-
 [πάρ]χον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ [πό]λει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου δρόμου
 [Θο]ήριδος ἡμισυ μέρος οἰκιδίου καὶ χρηστηρίων
 [πάν]των καὶ ἰσόδων καὶ ἐξόδων, οὐδ' ὄλου γείτονες
 [νότ]ου [Σα]ράτος, βορρά τ[οῦ] ὄνουμένου καὶ τοῦ [ἀ]δελ-
 15 [φο]ῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀπηλιώτου [πρό]τερον Ἡρωνος καὶ μετό-
 [χ]ων, λιβὸς δημοσία ῥύμη. τὰς δὲ συμπεφωνημέ-
 [να]ς ὑπὲρ τιμῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡμίσεος μέρους τοῦ οἰ-
 [κει]δίου καὶ χρηστηρίων πάντων ἀργυρίου
 [Σε]βαστοῦ νομισματοῦ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ἐξήκον-
 20 [τα] αὐτόθι ἀπέσχεον ὁ τε Μῶρος καὶ ἡ Πενιέραξ
 [πα]ρὰ τοῦ ὄνουμένου διὰ χειρὸς ἐκ πλήρους.
 [κρ]ατεῖν οὖν καὶ κυριεῦειν τὸν Σαραπίωνα σὺν
 [ἐκ]γόνοις καὶ τοῖς πα[ρ'] αὐτοῦ μεταλημφομένοις
 [το]ῦ αὐτοῦ ἡμ[ί]σο[υ]ς μ[ε]ρ[ο]υ τοῦ οἰκιδίου καὶ
 25 [χρ]ηστηρίω[ν] π[ρ]ὸ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξ[ο]υσίαν ἔχειν διου-
 [κε]ῖν καὶ οἰκορομεῖν π[ε]ρὶ αὐτοῦ ὧ ἐὰν αἴρη-
 [τα] μὲν τρόπον [ἀ]νεμπ[ρο]στώ[ς], καὶ μὴ ἐπελ[ε]ύ[σ]θαι τῶ[ν]
 [τε] Μῶρον καὶ τῇ Πενιέραξ μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπέ[ρ] αὐ-
 [τῶν] μηδένα κατὰ μηδ' ἕνα τρόπον καὶ τ[ὸ] προκείμε-
 30 [νον] ἡμισυ μέρος παρέξ[ε]σθαι καθαρὸν ἀπὸ τε
 [ἀπο]γραφῆς ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεωργίας βασιλικῆς
 [καὶ] οὐσιακῆς γῆς καὶ π[αν]τὸς εἴδους καὶ ὀφει-
 [λῆ]ς πάσης δημοσίας τε καὶ ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀπὸ παν-
 [τὸ]ς οὐτινοσοῦν ἄλλου. πάντα δὲ τὸν καθ' ὄν-
 35 [δη]ποτοῦν τρόπον ἐπελ[ε]υσόμενον ἢ ἐνποι-
 [η]σόμενον τοῦ μέρους χά[ρι]ν ἀποστήσιν αὐτοῦς
 [παρα]χρῆμα τοῖς ἰδίοις δαπανήμασι καθάπερ
 [ἐκ] δίκης· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα οὕτως ὀρθῶς καλῶς
 [γε]γενῆσθαι ἐπερώτη]σεν ὁ ὀνούμενος,
 40 [ὡ]μολόγησαν οἱ ἀποδόμενοι. κτλ.]

5 Πενιέρακος 10 l. εἰς 10-11 ὑ[παρ]χον 12 l. οἰκιδίου; so too 18, 24 13 l. εἰσόδων
 17 l. τιμῆς 20 l. ἀπέσχεον 36 l. ἀποστήσειν

‘To Aurelius Sarapion also called Ammonius, priest, archidicastes, and superintendent of the chrematistae and other courts, from Aurelius Sarapion, son of Theon, son of Diogenes, his mother being Sarapous, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, and from Aurelius Morus, son of Saras, his mother being

Sisois, and Aurelia Penhierax, daughter of . . ., her mother being Taarthonis, both inhabitants of the same city, Penhierax acting without *tutor* according to the custom of the Romans in virtue of her children. Morus and Penhierax acknowledge that they have sold to Sarapion from henceforth for ever the half part of a house belonging to them, situated in the same city in the quarter of the Square of Thoëris, with all appurtenances and entrances and exits, of which whole house the adjacent areas are, on the south the house of Saras, on the north the house of the purchaser and his brother, on the east the house formerly belonging to Heron and his partners, on the west a public street. Morus and Penhierax have received from the purchaser forthwith from hand to hand in full the hundred and sixty drachmae of silver of the Imperial coinage agreed upon as the price of the same half part of the house and its appurtenances. Sarapion shall therefore possess and own with his descendants and his successors the same half part of the house and all appurtenances, and shall have power to control it and dispose of it in whatever way he chooses without hindrance, and neither Morus and Penhierax nor anyone else on their behalf shall in any wise proceed against him. They will warrant to him the aforesaid half part free from liability to personal property returns and the cultivation of royal and domain land and from every obligation and every debt, public or private, and from everything else whatsoever. And anyone who in any manner whatsoever shall take proceedings or lay claim to the part they will at once repel at their own cost as if in consequence of a legal decision. And to the purchaser's question whether this has in this way been rightly and fairly done the vendors have given their assent.’

1 [Ἀν]ηλιῶ Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ : this seems to be a new name for the list of archidicastae. He is not likely to be the Ammonius of SB. 424. (B.)

5 Πενιέρακος : a woman, as appears from what follows, despite the π-. The name is not recorded in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*.

26-7 These lines have suffered specially from rubbing and are very difficult to read. That the text here printed represents the substance of the clause may be taken as certain, but the details cannot be guaranteed and several of the dotted letters can be read only with the eye of faith. (B.)

27 καὶ μὴ ἐπελ[ε]ύ[σ]θαι τῶ[ν] : καὶ μὴ ἐπιπορεύεσθαι E.P.W., but repeated examinations with a magnifying glass under varying degrees of light have failed to confirm this. The reading in the text is, however, far from certain. For the verb cf. l. 35. (B.)

38 The clause περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα κτλ., which occurs, e.g., 1208 25 after the κυρία clause, is new in a *συγχώρησις* deed; cf. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

39 After this line the document breaks off; but if the restoration is right, it seems hardly possible that this clause was followed by a penal prescription, which according to Schwartz, *loc. cit.*, is a characteristic element of the Alexandrian *συγχώρησις* deeds. (Miss Wegener read ἐπερωτηθέν]τες ὁ τε ὀνούμενος [καὶ ὁ τε Μῶρος καὶ ἡ Πενιέραξ συνεχώρησαν]. For the reading in the text (which is given with all reserve) see 1209 29-30. B.)

2237. LOAN OF MONEY.

30.2 × 28.5 cm.

A.D. 498.

A loan of six gold solidi less six carats, made to Aurelius Theodorus, lawyer, of Oxyrhynchus, by Flavius Didymus, *praefectorius*. Parallel deeds of loans of money of the end of the fifth century are, e.g., 1130, 1891, 1969, P. Amh. 148. The latter part of the document is in places much defaced by rubbing.

† Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τοῦ δεσ[πό]του ἡμῶν Φλ(αουίου) Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου

Ἀυγούστου τὸ β' Τῦβι κ['] ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ε' ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων πόλει.

Φλαουίῳ Διδύμῳ τῷ αἰδεσί[μῳ] ἐπαρχικῶ ὑἱῷ τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης μνήμης

Τιμοθέου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ[πρ]οτά[τ]ης Ὁξ[υρ]υγ[χ]ιτῶν πόλεως Ἀυρήλιος

- 5 Θεόδωρος υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς μακαρί[α]ς [μ]νήμης Μεγάλου τοῦ καὶ Διδύμου νομικάριος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐξῆ[ς] ὑ]πογράφων ἰδ[ί]οις γράμμ[ασι]ν χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ τῆς σῆς αἰδεσμότητος ἐν χρήσει διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου αὐτῆς εἰς ἴδιαν μου καὶ ἀναγκαίαν χρεῖαν χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια ἀπλᾶ δεσποτικὰ δόκιμα ἀριθμῶ ἐξ ἰδιωτικῶ ζυγῶ τῆς Ὁξυρυγιτῶν παρὰ κεράτια ἐξ, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) 5 π(αρά) κερ(άτια) 5,
- 10 ἄπερ ἐκτὸς τυγχάνοντα παντὸς κινδύνου ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσω τῇ σῇ θαυμασιότητι ἐν τῷ Παχῶν μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ροδ ριμγ τῆς παρούσης ἔκτης ἰνδικτίονος ἀνυπερθέτως. εἰ δὲ τῆς προειρημένης προθεσμίας ἐνισταμένης ἀγνωμοσύνην ποιήσομαι τοῦ εἰρημένου χρέους βουλευθεί[ς] ἄλλ[η]ν δοῦ[ν] αἰ μοι ἡμετέρα ἀιτήσῃ, ὁμολογῶ
- 15 τοῦ διατρέχοντος χρόνου μετὰ τὴν προθεσμίαν χορηγεῖν νόμιμον ἑκατοστιαῖον τόκον ἀχρι ἀποδόσεως τελείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀφειλήματος ἀποδιδόμενου σοι παρ' ἐμοῦ μετὰ τὴν προθεσμίαν εἰ οὕτω τυχοίην οὐ ἢ τῆς εἰσπράξεως γιγνομένης σοι παρά τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων ὑποκειμένων τῇ ἔκτισι τοῦδε τοῦ χρέους ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ κα[ὶ] ὑπο[θή]κης δικαίῳ. κύριον τὸ γραμματίον ἀπλοῦν
- 20 γραφέν καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολ(όγησα). (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος υἱὸς Μ[εγάλου] ὁ προγεγραμμένος νομικάρι[ος] ἔσχον ἐν κεφαλ[αί]ῳ χρ[υ]σοῦ ν[ο]μ[ι]σμά[τια] ἐξ παρὰ κερ[ά]τια ἐξ καὶ ἀποδώσω τῇ [προ]θεσμ[ί]ᾳ [καὶ] συ[ν]φωνεῖ μοι πάντα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα [ὡς] πρόκειται καὶ ἰδ[ί]α χειρὶ ὑπογράψας ἐπε[ρ]ωτηθεῖς ὠμολ(όγησα). (3rd hand) Αὐρήλιος Φιλόξενος ἐκ μητρὸς Ἡραεῖδ[ος] μαρτυρῶ τῷ γραμματίῳ ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται.
- (1st hand) ✠ Di emu Sarapamonos egraf(e).

On the Verso:

- 25 † γρ(αμμάτιον) Θεοδώρου νομικαρίου ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυγι(τῶν) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) 5 π(αρά) κερ(άτια) 5.

1 l. ὑπατεῖαν. τῷ perhaps written over an erasure.
24 l. Sarapamonos

19 l. ἐκτίσει

23 l. Ἡραῖδος

In the 2nd year after the consulship of our Lord Fl. Anastasius the eternal Augustus, Tybi 20, 6th indiction, at Oxyrhynchus. To Fl. Didymus the worshipful *praefectorius*, son of Timotheus of excellent memory of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Theodorus son of Megas alias Didymus of blessed memory, lawyer, of the same city, subscribing with his own

hand, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from your worship on loan from hand to hand out of your house for my personal and pressing need six unalloyed approved Imperial solidi of gold on the private standard of Oxyrhynchus less six carats, total 6 solidi of gold less 6 carats; which sum free of all risk I am bound to repay to your worship in the month of Pachon of the current 174th which is the 143rd year in the present 6th indiction without any delay. But if, when the term arrives, I make default in the repayment of the said debt and you consent at my request [to grant me a further period], I agree to provide for the time elapsed after the term the legal rate of 1 per cent. till the full repayment of the said debt, which is to be repaid to you by me . . . after the term, or else you are to have the right of execution against me and all my property, which is pledged for the repayment of this loan as security and by right of mortgage. The contract, of which there is a single copy, is valid, and in reply to the formal question I have given my consent. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Theodorus, son of Megas, the aforesaid lawyer, have received the sum of six solidi of gold less six carats, which I will repay on the appointed day, and I agree to all that is written in the contract as aforesaid and subscribing with my own hand I have given my consent to the formal question (?). (3rd hand) I, Aurelius Philoxenus, son of Herais, witness the contract as aforesaid. Written by me Sarapammon.

14 βουλευθεί[ς] δὲ ἐ[τέραν] ἐ[π]δ[ο]σ[α] E.P.W., doubtfully, citing, e.g., 1130 22, P. Amh. 148, 12, *Stud.* xx. 139, 13, but this seems impossible for reasons of space, nor can the earlier part be reconciled with the visible traces, though the conclusion suits them well enough. The reading in the text seems possible but it is given with all reserve. (B.)

17 Despite by no means negligible traces of letters after τυχοίην no reading has suggested itself. Something like τοῦ τε κεφαλαίου καὶ τοῦ τόκου might be expected, but this is quite irreconcilable with either the space available or the visible traces. The hand being very irregular, τοῦ κεφαλαίου alone could be got into the space, and one letter looks like λ, but αἰου cannot be read at the end, and τοῦ is impossible at the beginning. At the end λισου or λιτου could be read, and at the beginning ακ is an easy reading, but ἀκινδύνου does not seem possible. If, as taken in the translation, ἀποδιδόμενου goes with ὀφειλήματος, a phrase like ἀνευ κινδύνου (not itself a possible reading) may have occurred. (B.)

20-2 In these lines the ink has almost disappeared; the readings printed in the text have been restored with the aid of 1891 22-4, and *Stud.* xx. 139, but are made only with reserve. Without parallels no continuous decipherment would be possible. (At the end the remains suggest [ἀπ]έλλ(υσα) rather than ὠμολ(όγησα). B.)

23 Ἡραεῖδ[ος]: Ἡραεῖδ[ος] E.P.W.

24 The same clerk wrote 1882, of A.D. 497. For the question how far these subscriptions can be taken literally as meaning that the notary actually wrote the document himself (even when ἐγράφη occurs) see 1881 24 n. (B.)

2238. DEED OF SURETY.

30.3 × 27.7 cm.

A.D. 551.

The present deed of surety is addressed to Menas, the overseer of the principal church of Oxyrhynchus, by Phoebammon, Elias, and Pantarou. They guarantee the return by Onnophris of the gold stolen by him a few days before, and undertake to produce him when required. See in general Seidl, *Der Eid*, ii. 75, 84 ff.

[† Βασιλείας τοῦ θε[ο]στάτου] κ[α]ὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ[αο]νίου Ἰουστ[ιν]ι[α]νοῦ [τ]οῦ αἰ[ω]ν[ι]σ[τ]οῦ Α[ὐ]γουστ[ου] [καὶ] Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους κε, τοῖς τὸ θ̄ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαουίου Βασιλίου τοῦ λαμπροστάτου Με[σ]σορηῖ ἰδ̄ ἰνδικτίονος ἰδ̄ ἀρχ[ῆ] ἰε̄ ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων πόλει.†

- [Τῷ θα]υμασιωτάτῳ Μητῶ υἱῷ τοῦ μακαρίου Πραοῦτος ἐπικειμένῳ τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας
- 5 [τῆ]ς Ὁξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως Αὐρήλιοι Φοιβάμμων καὶ Ἡλίας ὁμογενῆσιοι ἀδελφοὶ ἐκ πατρὸς
- [Ἀνοῦ]π μητρὸς Τεκράμπε καὶ Παντάρου υἱὸς Φιβ μητρὸς Ῥαχῆλ οἱ τρεῖς ὁρμώμενοι ἀπὸ κτήματος
- [...]νης τοῦ Ὁξυρυχίτου νομοῦ διαφέροντος τῇ αὐτῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ χαίρειν.
- [ὁμο]λογοῦμεν ἐκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀθαιρέτῳ προ[ο]α[ι]ρ[έ]σει ἐπομ[νύ]μενοι θεὸν παγκράτορα
- [καὶ τῆ]ν εὐσέβειαν τῆς καλλινίκου τύχης ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχε[σ]θαι παρὰ τῆ[ς] ὑμῶν θαυμασιότητος
- 10 [Αὐρή]λιον Ὀνωφῆριν υἱὸν Παμουθίου γενομένου διακόνου μητρὸς Θεέκλας ὁρμώμενον καὶ αὐτὸν
- [ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐ]τοῦ κτήματος καὶ πρὸ τούτου παραμένοντα αὐτῇ ἐν τάξει δουλελευθέρου ἐφ' ᾧ τε
- ἡμᾶς παρασκευάσαι αὐτὸν δοῦναι τῇ ὑμῶν θαυμασιότητι τὰ πόλοιπα τοῦ αὐτῆς χρυσοῦ τοῦ κλαπέντος παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὑμῶν οἴκῳ πρὸ ὀλίγων τούτων ἡμερῶν καὶ ὅτε-
- δήποτε ἐπιζητούμενον αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς παρὰ τῆς σῆς θαυμασιότητος ἐν οἴα-
- 15 δήποτε ἡμέρα ταύτης ἔνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας τούτων παραφέρομεν καὶ παραδόσομεν δημοσίᾳ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ἐκτὸς ἁγίων περιβόλων καὶ θείων χαρακτήρων καὶ παντὸς τόπου προσφυγῆς, ἔνθα αὐτὸν καὶ παρειλήφμεν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ νοσοκομίου τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας ἐκτὸς οἰουδήποτε λόγου δοθέντος αὐτῷ ἢ δοθησομένου, εἰς τοῦτο μόνον τὸ κεφάλαιον ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν ὁμολογοῦμεν
- 20 ἐξ ἀλληλεγγῆς ἡμεῖς οἱ τούτου ἐγγυηταὶ ὑπεύθυνοι εἶναι πᾶσιν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν [ἐπι]ζητούμενοις ἀποκρίνασθαι ὑποθέμενοι εἰς τὸ δίκαιον ταύτης τῆς ἐγγῆς [ἅπ]αντα ἡμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντά καὶ ὑπάρξ(οντα) ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθήκης δικαίῳ. κυρία ἢ ἐγγύη ἀπλή γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες) ὠμολογήσαμεν.
- (2nd hand) [Αὐ]ρήλιοι Φοιβάμμων καὶ Ἡλίας ὁμογενῆσιοι ἀδελφοὶ ἐκ πατρὸς Ἀνοῦπ καὶ Παντάρου
- 25 [υἱὸς Φ]ιβ οἱ προ[ε]γραμμένοι πεποιήμεθα τήνδε τὴν ἐγγύην ἀποδεχόμενοι τὸν αὐτὸν Ὀνωφῆριν
- [υἱὸν Πα]μουθί[ου] σ[υ]γναφερόμενοι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐγγύῃ κίνδυνον ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν

[εὐπορίας] κ[αὶ τῶν δι]αφ(ερόντων) ἡμῶν πάντο(ν) ὡς πρόκ(εῖται) καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες) ὠμολογ(ήσαμεν) καὶ ἀπελύσαμεν. Ἀππιαν[ὸ]ς

[.....]δικ[ων] ἔγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγραμμ(άτων) ὄντων.†

(1st hand) ✕ di emu Victoros eteliothe.....ιδ ἰ(ν)δικ(τίονος) ιδ.

2 l. ὑπατεῖαν 3 id (so too l. 29 bis), ιε 6 υἱος (so too l. 10) 9 εγ'γ (so too ll. 20, 21, 23
11 2nd λ of δουλελευθέρου corr. from ι; the writer was beginning to write δουλειας 12 ὑμων 15
l. τοῦτον, παραδόσομεν 19 2nd ο of 2nd τουτό corr. from ω (or vice versa) 22 l. εἰδικῶς 27 l. πάντων
28 ὑπερ 29 ἰδικ/

In the 25th year of the reign of our most godlike and pious master Fl. Justinian the eternal Augustus and Emperor, the 9th year after the consulship of Fl. Basilius the most illustrious, Mesore 14, 14th indiction, at the beginning of the 15th, in the city of Oxyrhynchus. To the most worshipful Menas, son of the late Praous, overseer of the holy Catholic church of the city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Phoebammon and Aurelius Elias, full brothers, sons of Anoup, their mother being Tecrampe, and Aurelius Pantarou, son of Phib, his mother being Rachel, all three natives of the estate of . . . ne in the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to the same holy Catholic church, greeting. We acknowledge of our own free will and deliberate choice, swearing by God Almighty and the piety of the gloriously triumphant genius, that we are surety and pledge to your worship for Aurelius Onnophris, son of the late deacon Pamuthius, his mother being Thecla, also a native of the said estate and formerly serving you in the capacity of a freedman. We engage that we will cause him to give to your worship what remains over of your gold, which was stolen by him in your house a few days ago, and whenever he is required of us for this cause by your worship at any date, we will bring him forward and produce him in a public place in this city, without recourse to holy precincts, divine images, or any attempt at asylum, in the prison of the hospital of the same holy church where we have become his surety, without any reason given or to be given to him, on this charge only. If we do not do this we, his sureties, acknowledge on our mutual security our responsibility to answer for all that is required of him, pledging for the due discharge of this pledge all our property present and future, in particular and in general, as security and by right of mortgage. The warranty, of which there is a single copy, is valid, and in reply to the formal question we have given our consent. (2nd hand) We, Aurelius Phoebammon and Aurelius Elias, full brothers, sons of Anoup, and Aurelius Pantarou, son of Phib, the aforesaid, have given this warranty, becoming surety for the said Onnophris, son of Pamuthius (?), jointly certifying in this warranty our own risk and that of our property and all our possessions as aforesaid, and in reply to the formal question we have given our consent. I, Appianus . . . deacon, have written for them, as they are illiterate. (1st hand?) By me, Victor, the contract was made . . . 14th indiction.

2 τοῖς τὸ θ: the year is really the 10th. For this mistake see 133 2 n.

3 For indictions beginning in Mesore see J.E.A. xiv. 124.

4 ἐπικειμένῳ: for this use of the word see P. Lond. 1332, 5 n.

καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας: for the meaning to be attached to this expression see Edward Rochie Hardy's note on P. Col. Inv. 553, 17 in *Annuaire de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves*, vii (1939-44), 139. As he remarks, the note on 1900, 3-7, requires modification. (B.)

6 ἀπὸ κτήματος: on the property of the church in Egypt see E. R. Hardy, *Large Estates*, pp. 44-7. 9 [καὶ τῆ]ν εὐσέβειαν τῆς καλλινίκου τύχης: a very short variant of the formulae given by Seidl, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

11 δουλελευθέρου: this word is rare; the only citation in L. and S. is Vett. Val. 7. 8.

12 τὰ πόλοιπα: perhaps it would be better to read τὰ <ἀ>πόλοιπα.

16 θείων χαρακτήρων: cf. P. Cairo Masp. iii. 67296 intr.

17 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ: there is no improbability in the supposition that the hospital had its own prison; hence 'prison' is a better rendering than 'custody'. For private prisons see Hardy, op. cit., p. 69, and Seidl, op. cit., p. 86 n. 2.

19 κεφάλαιον: probably rather 'point', 'subject', than 'sum' (as Miss Wegener took it); cf.,

e.g., 67 18-19, ἐπὶ δυοῖ κεφαλαίοις τὴν ἔραυναν ποιούμενον, πρώτου μ[ε]ν εἰ κτλ., δευτέρου δὲ εἰ κτλ., P. Cairo Masp. 67032, 70-1, ἐκβιάσασ[ε] πάντας τοὺς [ὑμ]ετέρους [ἀν]τιδίκους τοὺς ἐντεταγμένους καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ἐπὶ παντὶ κεφαλαί[ω] ἀνήκοντι ὑμῖν κατ' αὐτῶν. (B.)

22 ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς: for this formula see 1895 15 n., and P. Ross.-Georg. iii. 32, 13 n.

27 πάντο(ν) ὡς: for this one should perhaps read πάντ(ων) ὡς; the ο and ω coalesce, and it is possible that the writer, intending to correct ο (of παντων), changed ο to ω and then, forgetting he had not completed παντων, wrote σ for ὡς. (B.)

29 See 2237 24 n. Here the word *eteliithe* certainly does not imply that a subordinate may not have written the body of the contract. What follows *eteliithe* is on the whole best taken as shorthand. The first character is like ρ and the fourth, fifth, and sixth could be read (so Miss Wegener, tentatively) *aug(usto)*, but this is rather forcing the last two. It may well be, however, that the whole is shorthand for *ἔτους κ̄ Μεσορή* (or *Augusto*). (B.)

2239. CONTRACT OF AN OVERSEER.

33.5 × 28.9 cm.

A.D. 598.

The present contract is made by Jeremias with Fl. Johannes, the owner of a large estate in the Oxyrhynchite nome, through Fl. Julius, his superintendent. It is closely parallel to 136 and 1894. It supplies important new evidence on the functions of the ἐπικείμενος in a large estate, about which our evidence has hitherto been scanty; cf. Hardy, *Large Estates*, p. 81. Moreover it differs from its parallels inasmuch as in 136 and 1894 the engagement respectively of a *προνοητής* and of a *μισθιος τῶν προνοητῶν* is for one year only, whereas here no mention of time is made. A further difference is that in our document the applicant already styles himself ἐπικείμενος, adding that he has paid his entrance-fee. This may suggest that the document is a renewal of a former contract, possibly to be made every year; but the payment of an εἰσβατικόν is against this; see l. 21 n. There is no subscription. On the verso is a document in shorthand.

[† Ἐν ὀνόματι τ[ο]ῦ κυρίου [καὶ δεσπότητος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν. βασιλείας [τοῦ θ]εοῦ καὶ εὐσεβ[ε]στατου)

[ἡμῶν δεσπότητος] μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουίου Μαυρικίου Νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγ[ο]στοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος)

[ἔτους ιζ' ὑ]πατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ[ε]στατου) ἡμῶν δεσπότητος ἔτους ιζ' Φαῶφι ἢ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) δευτέρας.†

5 Φλαουίῳ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ τέκνῳ καὶ κληρονόμῳ τῆς ἐν [ἐν]δόξῳ τῇ μνήμῃ Εὐφρημίας γενομένη καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχι(τῶν) πόλει δια σοῦ Φλαουίου

Ἰουλίῳ τοῦ περιβλέπ[ου] κόμετ[ος] καὶ διο[ικ]ητοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰερημίας γέ[ρ]ων ἐπικείμενος τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξ(ότητος)

υἱὸς τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου Φοιβάμμων[ος] ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων ἰδία χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.

ὁμολογῶ ἐκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀνθαιρέτῳ προαιρέσει συντεθειῖσθαι με πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν

ἐνδοξ(ότητα) διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ διαφερόντων ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον καὶ προγεγραμμέ(νης) ἡμέρας ἦτις

10 ἐστὶν Φαῶφι τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῆς παρουσίας δευτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίονος) εἰ[π]ὶ τῷ με χώραν ἐπικει[μέ]νῳ] παρὰ ὑμ[ῶν]

ἀποπληρῶσαι ἐν πάσῃ τῇ προστασίᾳ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξ(ότητος) καὶ πᾶσαν φιλοκαλείαν καὶ καλλιέργιαν

ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἀγροικικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐνδείξασθαι εἰς τε τὰ . . . νεόφυτα καὶ εἰς τὰ μεγάλα

γεουχικά, χωρὶς καὶ ὁμολογῶ [πα]ρασκευάσαι τοὺς πάντας γεωργούς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνδοξ(ότητος) ἐν ἐκάστῳ

τούτῳ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ κτήματι [τῆ]ς αὐτῆς οὐσίας [σ]πείραι τὰς γεουχικὰς μηχανὰς καὶ φυτεῦσαι

15 ἀκανθέας καὶ ἐτοιμῶς ἔχε[ι]ν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν συνεισενεγκεῖν εἰς βελτίονα ὄψιν τὰ ὑμέτερα

γεουχικά ἀγρ[ο]ικικὰ πράγματα ἐντεθῆναι καὶ δέξασθαι με παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξ(ότητος) λόγῳ μισθοῦ

τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ σίτρου καγκέλλω ἀρτάβ[α]ς] τριάκοντα ἑξ̄ καὶ χρυσοῦ νομίσματα ἑξ̄ παρὰ κεράτια εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ

ἰδιωτικῶ ζυγῶ καὶ οἴνου κνίδια ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ κριθῆς ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι τεσσάρας καὶ πάσας

τὰς συνθηθείας ἃς εἴωθεν λαβεῖν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπικείμενος) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν εἶτε

20 ἐν σίτῳ καὶ ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις εἶδεσιν. ὁμολογῶ δὲ δεδωκέναι τῇ ὑμ[ῶν] ἐνδοξ(ότητι) λόγῳ

εἰσβατικοῦ χρυσοῦ νομίσματ[α] τρι[ε]άκοντα πληρᾶτα ζυγῶ Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑποθέμενος εἰς τὸ

δίκαιον το[ῦ]τοῦ συναλλάγ[μ]ατος πάντ[α] μου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπ[άρ]ξοντα [ἰ]δ[ι]κῶς

καὶ κενικῶς ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθήκης δικαίῳ. κύριον τὸ συν[α]λλάγμα [ἀπ]λοῦν γραφ(έν)

καὶ ἐπερω[τ]ηθ(εἰς) ὡμολόγησα.†

3 l. ὑπατίας ἰνδ (so too 10) 5 φλαουίου 6 Ἰουλίῳ, Ἰερημίας, ὑμ (so too 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16) 7 υἱὸς ὑπογράφων 11 l. φιλοκαλίαν 12 . . . νεοφ. 14 l. τόπῳ 16 γεουχικά' αγρ. 19 τας' συνθηθ. 20 δε' δεδωκέναι 21 ὑποθ (so too 23) 22 ὑπαρ. bis; l. εἰδικῶς 23 l. γενικῶς

'In the name of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour.' In the 17th year of the reign of our most godlike and pious master and greatest benefactor Fl. Mauricius Novus Tiberius, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, which is the 16th after the consulship of our said most pious master, Phaophi 13, 2nd indiction. To Fl. Johannes, the most renowned *stratelates*, child and heir of Euphemia, of renowned memory, landholder here also in the illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, through you, Fl. Julius, the noble count and his superintendent, from Jeremias the elder (?), overseer of your honour, son of the most worshipful Phoebammon, subscribing below with his own hand, native of the same city. I acknowledge that of my own free will and deliberate choice I have made a contract with your honour through your representatives from the present aforewritten day, which is the thirteenth of Phaophi in the present second indiction, undertaking to fill the post of your overseer in the whole direction of your honour's affairs and to employ every care and efficiency in the cultivation of your estate with regard alike to the new plantation and to the large estate plants. Furthermore I acknowledge also that I will cause all the labourers of your honour in every place and every holding of the same estate to sow the fields of the estate, to plant acacias, and to be ready to show every zeal in bringing your landed estates into better condition, and that I am to receive from your honour by way of salary for the year thirty-six artabae of wheat by the *cancellus* measure, six solidi of gold less twenty-seven carats on the private standard, eighty jars of wine, twenty-four artabae of barley, and all the usual perquisites which the said overseer is accustomed to receive from the labourers whether in wheat or wine or other products. And I acknowledge that I have given to your honour by way of entrance-fee thirty solidi of gold in full on the standard of Alexandria, pledging for the right of this contract all my property present and future in particular and in general as security and by right of mortgage. The contract, of which there is a single copy, is valid, and in reply to the formal question I have given my consent.'

3 [ἔτους 17]: the year after the consulship is the 16th, the indiction the 2nd. The 2nd indiction was A.D. 598-9. In some documents dated under Maurice we find that the consulship is to the regnal year x as $x-1$, in others as $x-2$; see on this subject P. Mon. 10, 1-4 n. If it is here the former the regnal year should be the 17th (A.D. 598-9), if the latter the 18th (A.D. 599-600). Since the indiction is clear and perhaps on the whole less likely to be erroneous than either the regnal or the consular year, it seems best to date this contract in A.D. 598 and read 17 here. (B.)

4 στρατηλάτη: see 2231 15-16 n. Though, as there stated, the title was used in Byzantine times as the Greek equivalent of *magister militum*, it was often employed loosely and is found applied even to commanders of local garrison troops. It is best therefore to leave the word untranslated; see P. Mon. 2, 5 n. (B.)

5 Εὐφημίας: see 1035 (A.D. 568) and E. R. Hardy, *Large Estates*, pp. 40, 41.

6 διοικητοῦ: see Hardy, op. cit., pp. 80, 87.

7 [ρ]ων: a doubtful reading and somewhat unexpected, but palaeographically quite possible, nor is it easy to find a tolerable alternative. The epithet is not uncommon in papyri. In P. Lond. 1691, 16, 1693, 7 and elsewhere it precedes the name, with the definite article, but in P. Goodsp. 30, xxiii, 16, xxviii, 12, xxxvii, 22 it follows, as here. (B.)

10-16 Unlike the steward who makes a contract with the heirs of Fl. Apion in 136 Jeremias is ἐπικείμενος of the whole estate, not of a portion only. The Apion family was of course a more important one than that of Euphemia, but the καί before ἐνταῦθα in l. 5 shows that the latter's property also extended beyond the Oxyrhynchite nome. As no limit of time is mentioned this appointment may have been renewable from year to year or have been held at the pleasure of the employer. In the first case this may not be the first year of stewardship; but the mention of the εἰσβατικόν (l. 21 n.) seems to suggest that it was. Mr. Roberts points out that the amount (30 solidi) suggests a long-term appointment. (B.)

12 . . υν: above the υ are traces of a letter. The scribe has either made a correction or abbreviated a word. The contrast appears to be between recent and old cultivation.

14 τούτω: the reading is quite clear. It shows that this papyrus was copied from a written draft in which the scribe misread τῶτω as τούτω, an easy mistake at this period. (B.)

[σ]πεῖραι: ἀγεῖραι E.P.W., translating 'to collect the machines belonging to the estate'. Rubbing makes it impossible to read with any confidence the letters before εῖραι, but the reading in the text

seems certain on general grounds. For the frequent use of μηχανή at this period as = 'field under cultivation' see P. Lond. 1741, 5 n. (B.)

15 ἀκανθέας: acacias were a good deal used for timber (see, e.g., P. Lond. iv, index), but a determining reason for planting them was probably their utility in strengthening the dykes; cf. P. Mich. v. 349 (A.D. 30), in which an undertaking is given to plant 150 mulberry-trees ἐν τῷ (l. τοῖς) περὶ τὰς τριακοσίας ἀρούρας χόμασιν. (B.)

16-18 We have here for the first time a full statement of the salary received by an employee of an estate; cf. Hardy, op. cit., pp. 92-3.

18 κνίδια: cf. Segrè, *Metr. e circ. monetaria*, p. 52, n. 3.

18-20 This shows that it was regular and fully recognized for the overseer to increase his income by means of perquisites; cf. Hardy, op. cit., pp. 91-2.

21 εἰσβατικῶν: hitherto found only in P. Lond. ii, p. 333, 393 (6th or 7th cent.), where the meaning is not clear; it is by no means certain that it is there a tax, as taken in L. and S. Here it is evidently used in its etymological meaning and is equivalent to the παραμυθία paid by Serenus in 136. One would expect it to be paid once only, not every year in the case of appointments renewable annually; hence it is probable that the present contract marks the beginning of Jeremias' tenure of his post, but see above, introduction.

νομίματα [α] τρεῖς ἀκόνα: the entrance-fee paid by Serenus in 136 was only 12 solidi, but his charge was a much more limited one than that of Jeremias.

πληραῖα: a doubtful reading, especially as the word is unrecorded; but cf. πληρήσιος in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, with the reference 'S 112, 43 [VII], ἀριθμῶ καὶ -ρηαῖα σταθμῶ (Kaufpreiszahlung)'. (No such abbreviated reference as 'S' is specified at the beginning of the *Wörterbuch*, and attempts to trace the papyrus meant have failed.) (B.)

22-3 [εἰ]δ[ε]κῶς καὶ κενικῶς: cf. 2238 22 n.

23 [ἀπ]λο[σ]ῶν: this suits the space better than διπλοῦν.

(e) ACCOUNTS

2240. ACCOUNT OF A LARGE ESTATE.

26.8 × 25.4 cm.

A.D. 211.

The papyrus contains on the recto the fifteenth and sixteenth columns of the account of a large estate; cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 174-228. It has been cut off on the right and left sides and is broken at the bottom. The first part of the document is a list of arrears owed to the landlord from the eleventh (see l. 2 n.) till the nineteenth year (ll. 1-19). In the last part (ll. 20 ff.) the expenses are listed. The property concerned is from l. 6 onwards situated in the village of Athychis in the Oxyrhynchite nome. The account has been checked later, for in the last column there are notes and marks before several lines in the intercolumnar space by other hands, one of which also wrote ll. 47-8. The date of the document is the current nineteenth year of an unnamed emperor (l. 41), who, for palaeographical and chronological reasons, must be Caracalla. On the verso is written the account published below as 2242.

Col. i.

15

[] Μέλας ὀφείλει (εἰ) ὑπὲρ) σπ[ον]δ[η]ς) μισθώσεως ιβ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) δ
ι (ἔτους) [(δρ.)] δ ια ιβ (δρ.) η μ[ε]σ[θ]ω[σ]ε[ω]ς) σωμα[τ]ισθ(είσης)
[δνόμα]τ(ι) Στεφανούτος (δρ.) δ αἰ (λοιπαῖ) (δρ.) δ

I

[καὶ ἀπὸ ιε (ἔτους)] ἀνὰ χεῖρα ἕως ιγ (ἔτους) ἐτῶν γ̄ ἐκ (δρ.) ξ (δρ.) ρπ καὶ ἐκτά-
κτ(ων) ταρειχ(ηρόν) γάρ[ο]ν τῆς

5 [ἰχθύας?]

[.ας μητ(ρός) Ἡρᾶτος ἀπὸ κώμης Ἀθύχεως ἀπὸ λόγ(ου) χειρογρ(αφίας)
[ι]β (ἔτους)

[] (λοιπή) (δρ.) α

[]ασ[.]σ.λλ[...]. ἐκφο(ρίου) ιβ (ἔτους) (ἀρουρῶν) σθ' ἀποτάκτου (ἀρτάβας)
λς σπερμ(άτων) (ἀρτ.) ς διαφό(ρου)

[.] τὰς μετ[ρη]θ(είσας) εἰς τὸ δη(μόσιον) (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) μγς' λοιπ(ή) (ἀρτ.)
ω διαφό(ρου) ιγ (ἔτους) ιδ (ἔτους) ιε (ἔτους) ἐτῶν

10 [γ̄] μισθ(ώσεως) [(δρ.)] δ

[.] [. . . ἐ]ν τῇ α(ὕτῃ) Ἀθύχει διὰ ὠρου ὠρου μητ(ρός) Δημητρίας

[.]β καὶ ἀπὸ ιδ (ἔτους) ἀνὰ χεῖρα ἕως ια (ἔτους) ἐτῶν δ̄ ἐκ (δρ.) οβ
(γίνονται) (δρ.) σπη. ἐπι Ἐπειφ̄ ἀπὸ (δρ.) μ τὸ ς' (δρ.) κ λοιπ(αί) (δρ.)
νβ [ι]θ (ἔτους) (δρ.) οβ (γίνονται) (δρ.) χκη

[. ἐκ]φ[ο(ρίου)] ιγ (ἔτους) (ἀρούρας) αθ' ἐν (πυρῷ) ἀπὸ κοίτ(ης) (ἀρου-
ρῶν) ιβ ε.. () τροχ() ἀπ[οτ]άκτου (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) θ

15 [.] ἀν[τ]ῆς (ἀρτ.) [. . .] d' χβ̄ διαφό(ρου) εκγ' = (ἀρτ.) d' χδ̄ [. . .] αρ.τ[. . .]ι
[(ἀρτ.)] χθ

[.] (ἀρτ.) δθ̄ [ο] διαφό(ρου) σπερμ(άτων) ιδ (ἔτους) ιε (ἔτους) (ἀρτ.)
αδ' χδ̄[.]θ

[.] ὀφείλ(ει) ἀπὸ λόγου συνώνης ἄρακος ις [(ἔτους).]

[.] ἐκ (ἀρτ.?) ς' (γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) β (δρ.?) μ[.]

[.]εις . (ἀρτ.) ἄρακος (δρ.) η

20 [.] ἄρ[ακ]ο[ς] ἔσχ(εν) δι(ὰ) Βησαρίωνος εἰς πλ(άσιν) πλίν[θ]ιν[.]

[.] ὡς διὰ ἀπ(ολόγου) ιη (ἔτους) κολ(λήματος) ιδ δηλ(οῦται), (γίνονται)
(δρ.) η = [.]

[.]ου (ἀρτ.) ἄς πλείω ἔσχ(εν) διὰ λόγ(ου) Βη[σαρίωνος.]

[.]λ() [. . .] ὡς δι(ὰ) [το]ῦ α(ὕτου) ἀπ(ολόγου) δηλ(οῦται) ὡστ(ε).
[.]

.

Col. ii.

[ις]

25 a (2nd hand) ἐπ' ὀνόμ(ατος)

25 b αὐτῶν

25 c ἐκτεθέν(τες)

25 d (δρ.) σεϛ

25 e ἵνα πάρ-

25 f αυτα θεσθῆ

25 g Αἰσχυλῶ

30

25 Παποντῶς Ὀχεύριος καὶ Νααρῶου[ς]

ἔσχαν εἰς ἐκκαφῆν κρήνης εἶν

νίωνος (δρ.) σ, παρὰ δὲ Βησαρίων[ος ὡς διὰ τοῦ. . .]

ἀπ(ολόγου) δηλ(οῦται) διὰ λόγ(ου) Βησαρίωνος σιπ.[

δευτέρου ξύλ(ου) ναυβ(ίω) ιζ κῆ ὡς τ[οῦ

⌘ (δρ.) κδ (δρ.) ξβϛ (γίνονται) (δρ.) σεϛ ἀπὸ τῶν

ιη (ἔτους) Ἀθύρ κ̄ κολ(λήματος) γ δι(ὰ) ὠρου (δρ.) ιβ[

Νααρῶους χωλὸς ἀρχέφοδος κ[ώμης] Ἀθύχεως

⌘ τῷ ιε (ἔτει) ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὄντι ἀρχεφόδω [

παραγενομ(ένας) (δρ.) ρ μεθ' ἄς ἔσχε ὁ α(ὕτος) Σα[

35 μετὰ τὰς β̄ γκ̄ δι(ὰ) λόγ(ου) Βησαρίωνος ἔσχ(ε)

Δαναεὶ τοῦ ἀπ(ολόγου?) (δρ.?) Γ' ἄλ(λας) (δρ.) ς (γίνονται)

(δρ.) κς

δεφῆμ() .ηλ() Διουσίου (δρ.) θ- αἰ λ[οιπ(αί)] (δρ.)

Δεῖξ[ι]ς Ψωτοτόητο[ς] μητρὸς Τ[

ἐν τῇ αὐτ(ῇ) Ἀθύχ(ει) ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ λιβὸς μεί[ρεσι

40 // αὐτῆς κέλλης αὐλήν σὺν τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν α(ὕτῃ)

τοῦ ἐνεστῶτ(ος) ιθ (ἔτους) ὄλου τοῦ ἐνια(υτοῦ) ἀπὸ [

θεραπεῦσαι τῷ γεούχῳ ἀμισθεὶ δο[

οῦν ἔργον [παρ]έχοντος τοῦ γεού[χου

(2nd hand) (λοιπαί) (δρ.) μδϛ ιθ (ἔτους) Ἀθύρ κγ̄ (δρ.) α κ[αί] σίτ[ου] (ἀρτ.)

45 καὶ θερ(απείαν) τῆς δορᾶς [

καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Φαρμ(οῦθι) ιθ (δρ.) [

(3rd hand?) (ὄν) (λοιπαί?) . . λόγων Θεώνος. [

καὶ . λόγῳ λημ(μάτων) τοῦ α(ὕτου) Θεώνος κβ. . . . [

(2nd hand?) . . . εχ() αὐτ() (1st hand) Σαρᾶς βουλ(ευτῆς) ἐνοικ(ιολόγος) το[ῦ

50 // ὠνο(ς) εἰς ἐγ̄ βορρᾶ μ[έρη

41 ἐρεστω^τ corr. from ἐρεστω^ς

2 The readings in this line are very doubtful, not on palaeographical grounds, for they are all strongly suggested by the traces, but owing to difficulties of interpretation. If they are correct, we must apparently suppose that ις is an error for ια or ια an error for ι, more probably the former, and translate the whole entry: 'Melas owes for extra payment on the lease of the 12th year 4 drachmae, of the 11th and 12th years (together) 8 dr., for the lease booked in the name of

Stephanous 4 dr., remainder 4 dr.' Thus the σπονδή on the lease for Stephanous is for some reason deducted from the total debt, perhaps because Melas had paid it on her behalf and was credited with the amount. For the various meanings of σωμαρίζω see, e.g., P. Thead. 5, 19 n., P. Mich. vi. 367, 12 n. It has normally an official application and if correctly read here may suggest a sub-lease of domain lands, but an extension of an official term to denote an entry in the estate records is not impossible. (B.)

Μέλας: this word, of which the μ is partly cut off, could be the first word of the line. It is, however, clear from ll. 3 and 5 that there is a small lacuna at the beginning of each line. Perhaps X δ καὶ σπ[ον]δ[ής]: cf. P. Berl. Leihg. 20, 9 n.; Eitrem, 'A few remarks on σπονδή, θαλλός', in *Symb. Oslo.* xvii (1937), 26-48, esp. 40-1.

4 [καὶ ἀπὸ εἰ (ἔτους)]: cf. l. 12. It would perhaps suit the space rather better to omit καὶ. The meaning of ἀπὸ χεῖρα (see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, ii, col. 726) is regularly 'current' or 'currently'. In the papyrus published by Roberts, Skeat, and Nock, 'The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos', in *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1936, p. 55, it appears to indicate time up to but not including the present; see their remarks on p. 55 there. Literally it corresponds to our 'on hand'. There is therefore no justification for taking it in 1743 2, 8 as equivalent to διὰ χειρός: 'currently paid' (or 'payable') suits that context well enough. It is not clear what kind of payment is meant here. It includes both money and a payment in kind. Here the former amounts to 60 drachmae a year, in l. 12 to 72; but of course the size of the holding may have differed.

ἐκτάκτ(ων): or ἐκτακτ(ων), agreeing with γάρων. (B.) ἔκτακτα, like ἐξάερα, were an extra payment in kind (cf. 1631 22 n. and 1207 8 n.), whereas a σπονδή was often paid in cash, as in l. 2 here.

4-5 παρεχ[η]ρόν γάρ[ο]ν τῆς [ἰχθύας]: γάρ[ο]ν is not a quite satisfactory reading, as it involves the supposition that the clerk wrote γαρῶ, nor is the over-written letter very easily read as ν (γαρῶν or γαρ[ο]) could be read, but the word may almost certainly be taken as either γάρων or γάρως (neuter); both forms are found. ἰχθύας (for the form cf., e.g., P.S.I. iii. 160, 8) is read merely *exempli gratia*. (B.)

6 χειρομαρ(αφίας): a payment of 1 drachma on account of an affidavit occurs, e.g., in 1650 15, an account of freight to Memphis; cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 262-4.

8 ἐκφο(ρίου): here this word seems to cover both the rent proper (ἀποτάκτου) and the repayment for seed. (B.)

διαφό(ρου): in the present document the meaning of διάφορον is 'interest' (cf., e.g., P. Gen. 9, 8 and 1040 10, 11, &c.); for another use of the word see P. Berl. Leihg. 1. i. 10 n. Owing to the lacuna at the beginning of the next line we do not know on what the διάφο ρν is here payable; perhaps on the loan of seed as in 1040. The amount appears to be 2 artabae.

9 Perhaps μετὰ τὰς μετ[ρη]θ(είσας). From here onwards the lacuna is larger than in preceding lines by the amount indicated by the dots. Ϟ = ἡμισυ.

10 Probably σπονδῆς may be supplied before μισθ(ώσεως); cf. l. 2 n. It is not possible to connect these words with διαφό(ρου) in the preceding line, for the 'extra for the lease' is 4 drachmae per year.

12 ἀπὸ: perhaps deleted by a stroke through it. (B.)

13 ὄ = ἡμισυ. The lacunae in this and the preceding line make it impossible to say how the remainder of 52 drachmae or the sum of 628 drachmae was arrived at.

14 ε . . () τροχ() : ἐν ἀναπαύμασι τὸ δ E.P.W., with a note admitting the uncertainty of the extension ἀναπαύμασι. The meaning would be that, despite the ἐν (πυρῶ), a quarter of the area was under light crops. But the reading seems quite impossible; after τ are clear traces of what looks like ρ, and χ (not δ; δ' would in that case have to be read) is certain. What precedes might be ενϛ, εγρϛ, or εγρϛ. Apart from the context, ἐν ἀναπαύμασι is a possible reading. (B.)

15 διαφό(ρου): cf. l. 8 n. The meaning of the abbreviation which follows (the reading is certain) is unknown. χ^β = 2 choenices, and χ^δ (if the δ is rightly read; it is an irregular circle, χ^ρ) = 4 choenices.

16 Since the over-written λ of οφειλ in l. 17 is artificially enlarged upwards so as to fill half the space it is probable that nothing is lost on the left between this line and the next. (B.)

17-18 Miss Wegener suggests ις [(ἔτους) ις (ἔτους) ιη (ἔτους) ιθ (ἔτους) ἐτών δ] ἐκ (ἀρ.) ὄ. This suits the arithmetic well but makes it necessary to assume that l. 18 began much farther to the right than any other line. (B.)

20 εἰς πλ(άσιν): the extension is uncertain, but cf., e.g., P.S.I. 712, 5; see also Reil, *Gewerbe*, pp. 35-7.

21 διὰ ἀπ(ολόγου): it is probable, though not quite certain, that the curved down-stroke after α (α) stands for π.

25a-g A marginal note on ll. 25-31: 'paid out in their name, 205 dr. 3 obols, in order that it may be at once credited to Aeschylus'. For ἐκτεθέν(τες) l. ἐκτεθεί(αι). In l. 25 f θεσθῆ seems clear, though the θη, there being no room for it in the line, had to be written below the beginning of l. 28. It is on doubt a vulgarism for τεθῆ, 'put to the θέμα' of Aeschylus. (B.)

25 Ὀχεύριος: a new name; it is hardly likely that we should read δ Χεύριος, a name which occurs in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*.

26 ἔσχαν: an instance of the practice, common in later Greek, of giving to the second aorist the endings of the first. (B.)

28 ἀπ[ι]: εἰς πρ[ι] E.P.W., but though ε can be read for σ there seems no trace of a sigma before π. σιππ[ίου] is hardly appropriate here, and the stroke following π suits ρ or ι rather better than π. (B.)

29-31 The loss of at least half of each line and probably more makes it hazardous to attempt any restoration and hardly possible to interpret the arithmetic. If the 200 drachmae of l. 27 and the 62 dr. 4 obols of l. 30 are included in the total of 205 dr. 3 obols it is clear that a deduction must have been made from the first of these amounts or that the 62 dr. 4 obols was subtracted from a previous sum. (B.) For ξύλον as a measurement see Segrè, *Metrologia*, p. 26 f.; but the preceding δευτέρου makes it doubtful whether this is the usual measure.

32-7 Probably payments to the village ἀρχέφοδος, either for watching the estate or for researches, undertaken by him on its behalf, into thefts, &c.

34 '100 drachmae accrued over and above those which were received by the same Sa—'. Hardly the Saras of l. 49. (B.)

35 ρ: this occurs as an abbreviation of προσδιαγραφόμενα in P. Lond. iii, p. 93 (1170, 7), but the meaning of the ρ^κ which follows here is obscure.

36 Δαναεῖ: no such name as Δαναεύς occurs in either Pape or Preisigke's *Namenbuch*, but both have Δαναῖς and Δαναός as personal names. Here we have either a variant form Δαναεύς or an irregular dative of Δαναῖς. (B.)

(δρ.?) Γ: neither the ἀπ(ολόγου), which is an alpha followed by a curving downstroke, rather like ξ, nor the drachma sign is certain, though both are obviously possible. The doubt arises from the character following. It is not unlike the 3-obol sign (Γ'), but that is inappropriate after the drachma sign. Either τ (900) or ϛ (3000) is conceivable, but neither could be read without reservation. (B.)

37 δεφημ() . ηλ() : the readings seem certain, but no explanation has suggested itself; δεφημ() does not look like a proper name. The two etas have the pot-hook form common in the later first and early second centuries but unusual so late as this, except in abbreviations, and as a numeral (¼). (B.)

θ—: what follows θ must be the 1-obol sign, despite the unusual dot. (B.)

38-45 These lines probably refer to the lease of a stable. Apparently the lessee, in lieu of rent, was to work for the landowner (l. 42), for which he was to receive from the latter a small gratuity (l. 43 f.).

38 Δεξίος Ψντοτόητο[s]: Δηουψιν . [Σ]τοτοήτο[s] E.P.W., but there is no trace of σ before the τ (there is a narrow hole in the papyrus, but part of σ should be visible), and the name should be Στοτοήτης. Ψντοτόητος does not seem to occur elsewhere, but names beginning with Ψεν- or Ψιν- are common. (B.)

42 ἀμισθει: cf., e.g., 729 9. [δσ] suggests δότω (ἔργον), but οδν seems too far from the beginning of the sentence. (B.)

45 δοράς: the word δορά occurs here for the first time in the papyri.

47-8 The hand of this addition seems not to be the same as that of the marginal notes, but the apparent difference may be due to compression. (B.)

47 (δν): the minus sign, like a capital L. What follows looks exactly like the symbol for λοιπός and its cases, but the characters following that are uncertain. διὰ λόγων does not seem to be possible. See next note. (B.)

48 Before λογω is what looks like the symbol used at this period for αὐτός and its cases (see P. Lond. iii, index 8a), but this is not appropriate here. What is wanted is, e.g., ὑπέρ. What precedes λόγων in l. 47 may be the same symbol. May we perhaps read, in l. 47, (ὑπέρ) λόγων, here (ὑπέρ) λόγων(ν)? The following readings, except Θέωνος, are very uncertain. (B.)

49-50 These lines are the last of this column and probably the end of the document, for they are followed by a blank space of 4.7 cm.

49 In the marginal note perhaps *συνεχ()*, as tentatively suggested by Miss Wegener, but though *v* is likely enough *σν* is not an easy reading. This may be a proper name, followed by *ἐχ(ει) αὐτ(ά)*. (B.) *ἐνοικ(ιολόγος)*: hitherto this employee was known only in the Byzantine period; cf. Hardy, *Large Estates*, p. 93. It is less likely that this abbreviation should be otherwise extended, e.g. as *ἐνοικ(ίου)*. It is, however, not possible that a rent-collector wrote these accounts; hence the payment of his salary may have been recorded in these lines. The title *βουλευτής* indicates a date after the grant of senates by Severus.

2241. LIST OF RENTS FROM LAND.

20.6 × 23.4 cm.

A.D. 283-4.

The papyrus contains two columns of writing, both of which have lost the lower portion; at the top a margin of 1.5 cm. is preserved. The space between the columns is 2.5 cm.

The document is a list of rents in kind and money from State land. Our first column, which is also the first column of the document, contains the heading, which is in many points parallel to P. Cair. Preis. 9. The part preserved of the list concerns land in the territory of the village of Sinkepha and belonging to the estate called 'Dioscurian'. The entries are *κατ' ἄνδρα*; only two are preserved. Between these there is a blank space of 4 cm. Under the name of the lessees the items are arranged according to *κλήροι*; cf., e.g., 1743. At the end of each entry the total amount to be paid is given. Cf. Déléage, 'Les cadastres antiques', in *Ét. Pap.* ii, p. 140, Hohlwein, 'Le Blé d'Égypte', in *Ét. Pap.* iv, pp. 60-1.

Col. i.

α

[Ἀπαιτή]σιμον ἐκφορίων καὶ φόρων σιτικ(ῶν) ἑδαφῶ(ν)
 [τοῦ ἐνε]στ(ῶτος) β (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Καρέινου
 [καὶ Νουμ]ε[ριανοῦ Σεβαστῶν. τὸ συντεθὲν
 5 [ἐκ τῶν προ]τ(έρων) ἀπαιτησίμων καὶ τῆς γενομένης
 [ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου?] Σεουήρου τοῦ τῆς οὐσίας γεωμέτ(ρου)
 [ἐπισκ(έψεως) ἔστ]αι ἢ καὶ ἐν μέρει ἀπεσται ὅ τι δ' ἐν
 [τόμοις ἐ]γνώσθη ἠγνοημένον ὀφειλ(ον) ὁποτέ-
 [ρωσ οἰκον]ομηθῆναι. ἔστι δέ·
 10 [Σί]γκεφᾶ·
 [κτῆματος κ]αλουμένου Διοσκουρείου·
 [Πενήν]ις ὑδροπ(άροχος) ἀ[ρ]ο[τ]τ(ήρ) μηχα(νάριος) ἀ(πὸ) τοῦ προκ(ειμένου)
 κτήμ(ατος)
 [ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπὲρ ἐκ]φορίων καὶ φόρων τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) β (ἔτους)

[.....γ]εγεώργη(ται) ἐξ ἐπισκ(έψεως)·
 15 [ἀ(πὸ) κοίτ(ης) (ἀρουρῶν) μβ 'Η]ρακλεοδώρου κλή(ρου) ἀφ' ὧ(ν) ἀντικατηλ-
 (λάγησαν)
 [Ἀμμωνιαν]ῶ ἀπὸ β(ορρά) (ἀρ.) κη λουπ(αί) (ἀρ.) ἰδ.
 [κατ' ἀγρὸν] (ἀρ.) ἰδελ κολ(λήματος) ξδ πυρ(ῶ) χόρτ(ω)
 [.....δν] μὲν πρὸς πυρ[δ]ν λογιζομ(ένων)
 [(ἀρ.) γδ' ἀνὰ (ἀρτ.) εσ] πυρ[(οῦ)] (ἀρτ.) ιησ
 20 [τῶν δὲ ἐν χόρτ(ω) (ἀρ.) γλ(ηιο) φόρο(ν) κατὰ κέλ(ευσιν)
 [.....ὡς ἔστι ἐν τῇ] συνάρσει τοῦ προδιελ(ηλυθότος)
 [(ἔτους).....] ἀργ(υρίου) (δρ.) φιβ
 [ἀλλ(η) κοίτ(η) (ἀρ.).. 'Ισοκράτους κ]λή(ρου) ἑδάφο(υς) Ἀντινοέων
 [..κολ(λήματος).. πυρ(ῶ) (ἀρ.) δσ ἀνὰ] (ἀρτ.) εσ πυρ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) κδθ'
 25 [20 ll.]. Ἀλεξάνδρου
 [16 ll. κολ(λήματος)..] πυρ(ῶ)
 [(ἀρτ.) 19 ll.]θ πυρο(ῦ)
 [(ἀρτ.) 21 ll. π]υρ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) ξαθ'
 [27 ll.]..ν
 30 [27 ll.].π

Col. ii.

β

[ἐκ] λιβ(ός) χώμ(ατος) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) κοίτ(ης) ὁμοί(ως)
 [κ]ολ(λήματος) ξζ πυρ(ῶ) ποτισθ(εῖσαι) (ἀρ.) βδ' ἀνὰ (ἀρτ.) σσ πυρο(ῦ) (ἀρτ.)
 [ιδσῆ
 ἀλλ(η) κοίτ(η) (ἀρ.) ιβ ἐκ λιβ(ός) ποταμοῦ κολ(λήματος) ξη χό(ρτω) (ἀρ.) σ...
 35 ἀλλ(η) κοίτ(η) (ἀρ.) ε ἐν μισθ(ώσει) τῶν ἀπὸ Χύσεως
 κολ(λήματος) ξη πυρ(ῶ) (ἀρ.) βσ ἀνὰ (ἀρτ.) εσ πυρ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) [ιγθ
 γίνεται πυρ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) ρξγδῆ λαχ(άνου) (ἀρτ.) δ
 ἀργ(υρίου) (δρ.) Γψαβ.
 ἐξ(ῆς) προσκ() δ.....ξ..Π[ο]λυδεύκους β (ἔτους) κολ(λήματος) κη π[υρ(ῶ)]?
 40 κολ(λήματος) λε λ[αχ(άνω)] ἀ[ν]ὰ (ἀρτ.) β
 Φηοῦς ἕτερος ὑδροπ(άροχος) ἀροτ(ήρ) μηχα(νάριος) ἀ(πὸ) τοῦ προκ(ειμένου)
 κτήμ(ατος)
 ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπὲρ ἐκφορίων καὶ φόρων τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) β (ἔτους)]

- τῶν καὶ [[δι]]{α} ἐν κτήμα(τι) γεγεώργη(ται) ἐξ [ἐπισκ(έψεως)]
 ἀ(πό) κοίτ(ης) (ἀρ.) μβ 'H[ρ]ακλεοδώρου κλή(ρου) [ἀφ' ὧ(ν) ἀντικατηλλ(άγησαν)]
 45 Ἀμμωνιανῶ ἀπὸ β(ορρά) (ἀρ.) κη λο[ι]π(αῖ) [(ἀρ.) ιδ
 κ[α]τ' ἀγρὸν (ἀρ.) ιδε[λ] κολ(λήματος) ξδ πυρ(ῶ) χ[ι]όρτ(ω)
 ων ὧν μὲν πρὸς πυρὸ(ν) λογιζομ(ένων) (ἀρ.) γ[d'
 ἀνὰ (ἀρτ.) εω
 τῶν δὲ ἐν χόρτ(ω) (ἀρ.) γ[ζ]η[ω] ὠσπ(ερ?)...[
 50 ὡς ἐπάνω ἐπὶ Πενήμιος ..[
 ἀλλ(η) κοίτ(η) (ἀρ.) ιβ[ε] 'Ἰσοκράτους κλή(ρου) ἐδάφ[ο]υς Ἀντινοέων
 .ομ() κολ(λήματος) ξδ πυρ(ῶ) (ἀρ.) γω ἀνὰ (ἀρτ.) ε[ω] (ἀρτ.) ιθδ[]
 ἀλλ(η) κοίτ(η) (ἀρ.) ιδ[η] ἐκ βορ(ρά) τοῦ ποταμ[ο]ῦ
 [ἀλλ(η) κοίτ(η) (ἀρ.)...] δ[...].[...] κολ(λήματος) ξ. [χόρ]τ(ω)[
 55 [± 12 ll.]]

3 βS"; so too ll. 13, 39

ll. 2-22 'Rent-roll in kind and money of corn-lands for the present second year of our lords Carinus and Numerianus Augusti. The list compiled from the former lists and the revision made by [Aurelius] Severus, the surveyor of the estate, will follow (them) or will in part be missing, and whatever is recorded (?) in the rolls as unknown must be administered according to circumstances (?). It is as follows: In the village of Sincepha, estate called "of Dioscurus". Penenis, irrigator, cultivator, and mechanic belonging to the aforesaid estate owes for rent in kind and money for the present 2nd year (for the land which) he has cultivated (in the estate?) as shown by the revision: from the 42 arourae of the plot of the allotment of Heracleodorus, from which 28 arourae in the north were transferred to Ammonianus, the remaining 14 arourae; in good condition 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ arourae, column 64, in wheat and grass... for the 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ arourae calculated in wheat, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae per aroura, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae wheat; for the 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ arourae in grass at the rent in accordance with the order... as is established in the settling of accounts of the year before last 512 silver drachmae.'

1 It is not stated which official made the present list, but to judge from parallel documents it was most probably the *κοιμογραμματούς*; cf. Déleage, loc. cit., and Hohlwein, loc. cit.

4-9 This is a very difficult sentence, and its obscurity is increased by the lacunae. It is clearly parallel to P. Cair. Preis. 9, 7-12, though there are differences of wording, partly, but not entirely, due to the fact that the two documents are not quite of the same class. For example, in the Cairo document ἐν τόμοις (here supplied by Miss Wegener, with great plausibility, before ἐγνώσθη) comes at the end of the sentence. Miss Wegener placed a comma after Σεβαστῶν and translated 'the list of rental in kind and money... which is composed from the former lists and the revision... will follow or will be missing in part, as far as it is known in the rolls that it is unknown in which way it must be administered'. The present writer must confess that he finds it almost as difficult to understand this as to get it out of the Greek. It involves taking ll. 2-9 as a single sentence, but the Greek for 'The rent-roll... compiled' should surely be τὸ ἀπαιτήσιμον... τὸ συντεθέν, and there is probably not room for τὸ at the beginning of l. 2, where two letters more are preserved than in ll. 4-9. It is better, therefore, with Preisigke, to begin the new sentence at τὸ συντεθέν, treating what goes before as a heading. Again, Miss Wegener's rendering ignores the δ after οτι. It does not seem possible to read οτι δ' ἂν and take the δ' not as a conjunction but as an indefinite particle, parallel to such uses as ὅπου δ' ἂν, 'wherever', εἴ τι δ' ἂν, 'whatever', ἕως δ' ἂν, 'till such time as', in the eighth-century Aphrodito letters in P. Lond. iv. On the whole the best interpretation is probably to begin a new clause at οτι

and to treat what goes before as an amalgamation of two alternative methods of expression, τὸ ἀπαιτήσιμον ἔσται ἐκ τῶν κτλ., 'the rent-roll will be in accordance with... or will in part be missing', and ἀπαιτήσιμον τὸ ἐκτεθέν ἐκ τῶν κτλ., 'rent-roll compiled from', &c., the confusion of the two constructions being due to the desire to explain that the data were incomplete. (Or alternatively we might omit '(them)' in the translation and take ἔσται as equivalent to 'will be found below'.) The concluding clause has its own difficulties. ἐγνώσθη ἡγνοημένον is a strange expression. ἀνεγνώσθη would be easier, but room can hardly be found for αν. Probably we must take it as = 'was noted as unknown'. οφείλ might be expanded οφείλει but for the clear οφείλον of P. Cair. Preis. 9, 11. Finally, ὁποτέρως seems to mean 'in one way or another', i.e. 'according to circumstances'. Miss Wegener, on the analogy of the present document, suggests for P. Cair. Preis. 9, 10-12 (assuming a rather greater loss at the ends of lines than Preisigke allowed for) οτι ἡ[γνοημένον] οφείλον ὁποτέρως οἰκονομηθῆ[ναι] ἐγνώσθη ἐν τόμοις. This seems likely, except that it might be better to read δ' [ἡγνοημένον]. We might then render 'and whatever is unknown, having to be administered according to circumstances, has been recorded in the rolls'. It must be added that the interpretations suggested in this note are tentative only. (B.)

4 τὸ συντεθέν κτλ.: this is the first case in the papyri where the rent-roll also was prepared on the basis of earlier lists, corrected by the results of the revision for the current year; cf. P. Cair. Preis. 9, 7-9 and, for the cadaster, Déleage, op. cit., p. 141.

6 [ὑπὸ Ἀρηλίου?]: Miss Wegener subsequently suggested as an alternative [τῶν ἐδαφῶ(ν) ὑπὸ], which is at least equally acceptable. (B.)

τοῦ τῆς οὐσίας γεωμέτ(ρου): the present text is apparently for γῆ οὐσιακή. Severus was perhaps the surveyor of the estate of Dioscurus. This is the first occurrence of a γεωμέτρης of an οὐσία; cf. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 184.

10 There is room in the lacuna at the beginning of the line for κάμης, but the line, as a heading, may have been indented.

12 Πενήμις: the restoration is suggested by l. 50, and that of ἵδρον(άροχος) by l. 41. The space is the same as in lines (like 9) where the certain restoration contains 8 letters, whereas here 12 (not counting the over-written π of ἵδρον) are necessary, but it is difficult to see how the reading could be modified; ἵδρ is not likely in view of the form used in l. 41, where the ἕτερος shows that the word must have occurred previously. Just possibly, if the column was a tall one, a second tenant's name and holding occurred in the lost lower portion. In that case both Πενήμις and ἵδρον(άροχος) may be incorrectly restored here, but the indications are that ll. 12-39 form a single entry. (B.)

14 Since the reading in l. 43 is uncertain it is better to leave the lacuna here unfilled.

15-22 The items in these lines under the name of Penenis are the same as those of the next entry under that of Pheous in ll. 41-9; whether the identity extends beyond that point is doubtful. This is at first puzzling, since if Penenis and Pheous were joint tenants they might be expected to appear together in a single entry. The explanation is probably that they were joint tenants for certain lands but not for all; hence, if each entry was to be a complete statement of liability and the κατ' ἄνδρα arrangement was to be maintained, it was necessary to enter these lands in full under each tenant's rubric. The entry is, however, perplexing in another way. Ll. 15-16 seem to mean that of this κοίτη 28 arourae had been transferred to Ammonianus and 14 were held by Penenis (and Pheous), and ll. 17-22 should contain the details of these. But in l. 17 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ arourae are mentioned, partly under wheat, partly in grass. Furthermore, only 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ arourae for wheat and 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ arourae for grass are specified. The same figures appear under the name of Pheous, but to explain them as representing the respective shares of the two partners does not entirely remove the difficulty, for twice 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ + 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ (= 6 $\frac{1}{8}$) is 13 $\frac{3}{8}$, not 14 $\frac{3}{4}$. Perhaps part of the land was not productive, or the words πρὸς πυρὸν λογιζομένων may mean that the acreage reckoned for rent in wheat was not the total area. (B.)

17 [κατ' ἀγρὸν]: cf. l. 46. Presumably a shortened form of the phrase κατ' ἀγρὸν σπόριμος, for which see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.

19 Here again the arithmetic is incomprehensible: 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ arourae at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae = 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ art., not 18 $\frac{1}{2}$. Miss Wegener throughout took the symbol which here occurs after η and ε as $\frac{1}{8}$, but it seems clearly to be the \angle symbol for $\frac{1}{2}$ with the diagonal stroke which often accompanies it (cf. 2240 9 n.). Even on her interpretation the arithmetic would be wrong: 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ arourae at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae = 16 $\frac{3}{4}$. It is not possible to read ιςω, which would be nearer to the latter result. (B.)

21 *συνάρσει*: the letters *σν* were read by Mr. Roberts.

23-7 The items in these lines, so far as they can be recovered, do not seem to be the same as in ll. 51-5, for unless the arithmetic is very erratic, a total of 24½ art. on a rent of 5½ art. per aroura cannot be got from an acreage of 3½ arourae (l. 52). (B.)

23 *ἐδάφο(ς) Αντινοίων*: so too in l. 51. This Antinoite land seems to be new. We may perhaps compare the *Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα* in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 682 n. 5.

25 Perhaps *ποταμοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου* (cf. l. 53), but this *ποταμός* is unknown.

34 At the end *φόρ(ου)* might be expected and was very tentatively suggested by Miss Wegener, but it is difficult to read that. The end of the abbreviation resembles that for *λοιπαί* in l. 16, but the first letter is not like any other λ, though that reading is not wholly excluded. If *λοιπ(αί)* is right we must suppose that what follows was the acreage in wheat and that the rent of the grass land was not given; ll. 20-2 suggest that there were special arrangements for that. (B.)

37 *γίνεται πνρ(ου)*: the dotted letters are barely visible owing to rubbing and can be read only *a priori*. (B.)

39-40 The total amount having been specified in the previous line, this must be a supplementary entry under the present rubric. *προσκ()* may be *πρόσκ(εῖται)*. It will be noticed that the columns referred to are widely separated from the others under the heading of Penenis. (B.)

40 λ[αχ(άνω)] δ[ν]δ: a diagonal stroke strongly suggests λ, but the rest of the reading is exceedingly doubtful. The stroke might suit χ[ό(ρωτ)], but grass land pays a money rent in ll. 20-2. For a rent in vegetables cf. l. 37. (B.)

41 *ἕτερος*: probably this goes with the following word, not with *Φηοῦς*; cf. note on l. 12.

43 *τῶν καὶ [δ]ε[α] ἐν κτημα(τι)*: this reading, which is Miss Wegener's, is extremely doubtful. It is by no means certain that the circular patch of ink covering *δε* is intended for deletion and is not merely (what its appearance suggests) an accidental blot. At the beginning, for *τῶν* one might read *ηρ...*, and at the end *δ*, seems better than *μα...*. The characters visible suggest some such reading as *γῆς] ἢ γνη] καὶ διὰ ... δ(ου) γεγεώρη(ται)*, but as no satisfactory reading of the undeciphered portion has suggested itself (*Ἀσκληπιάδ(ου)* is not possible) and *γνη]* is very doubtful it seems better to leave the text as Miss Wegener read it. (B.)

47 The space after *ων* seems to be intentional.

52 The ε before the lacuna is very uncertain palaeographically but quite possible; 5½ is a common rate and occurs in the corresponding entry under Penenis. The holding seems, however, not to be the same as in ll. 23-7; see note ad loc.

53 See l. 25 n. In l. 34 there is a reference to a *ποταμός* without a name.

2242. ACCOUNT OF RENTS.

26.8 × 25.4 cm.

3rd cent. A.D.

This document is written on the verso of 2240. It contains two columns of a list of rents in wheat on state land; the payments are due for the third year of an unnamed Emperor (l. 2). In each case the total area of the *κοίτη* and most often the *κλήρος* in which it is situated are specified, but in several cases rent is marked as owing only on part of the area, even though, as apparently in l. 19, a lower rent may be indicated for the land not reached by the Nile. It is apparently only the naturally irrigated land for which rents are debited to the tenants. This is clear in the case of the entries in ll. 1-6, 17-22, 28-31, 36-40, and 47-51; and it may be inferred that in cases where the word *Νιλοβρόχου* does not occur all the arourae to which rent was debited had been irrigated naturally. In ll. 7-8, where rent is due on only part of the total area, it is stated that part of the area on which rent was due was 'ceded', the actual rent noted as owing being that on the 1½ arourae remaining. The total area was, however, 15

arourae, and we must infer that the greater part of this holding was not reached by the Nile. The account would appear to be intended to specify rent payable on fully irrigated land, excluding all other kinds, and as suggested in the note on ll. 19-22 it may be that rent on the remainder had been remitted, permanently or (much more probably) for the time being. (B.)

Col. I

Σιλβανὸς καὶ Πραοῦς ὀφείλ(ουσι) ὑπ(έρ)

ἐκφορίων γ (ἔτους) κοίτ(ης) (ἀρ.) γς' Ἰσιδώρου

καὶ Διοκλέους κλή(ρου) νιλοβρόχου (ἀρ.) αε' ἀβρόχ(ου)

ἢ λοιπ(ῆ) φόρου ἀποτάκ(του) ἄλων (ἀρ.) γς'

5 (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) ιζω τῆς (ἀρ.) αε' (γίν.) (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) ηε'

⊥ Παναροῦς τὸ δ' (πυρ. ἀρτ.) βηῖο

Θεόφιλος Βίθιος ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) ιε (ἀρ.) βεῖη, ὦν ἀντι-

παρεχ(ώρησεν) (ἀρ.), λοιπ(ῆ) (ἀρ.) αεῖη ἀνὰ (ἀρτ.) ε (ἀρτ.) θδῆ

κληρονόμοι Σεκούδου ὀφείλ(ουσι) ὑπ(έρ) ἐκφο(ρίων)

10 οὐ γεωργ(ουσι) (ἀρ.) ω Ἡφαιστίωνος κλή(ρου)

ἀποτάκ(του) (γίν.) (πυρ. ἀρτ.) βς'

⊥ Παναροῦς τὸ ω (πυρ. ἀρτ.) αδ'

Σερίμιος Ἀρπαήσιος γεωργ(ός) Ἰσιδώρας

Μοχλιτίδος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀματόκου γ(ηδίου?)

15 κοίτ(ης) ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) δ (ἀρ.) α ἀποτάκ(του) (πυρ. ἀρτ.) ε

⊥ Παναροῦς τὸ ω (ἀρτ.) βω

[Ἀλέξ]ανδρος ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπ(έρ) ἐκφορίων

[κλή](ρου) τοῦ Ἀθραδάτου κοίτ(ης) (ἀρ.) ζγ'

[νι]λοβρόχου (ἀρ.) εγ' φό(ρου) ἀποτάκ(του) (ἀρ.) β (πυρ. ἀρτ.)

γβ

20 [..]ιλ θω ὦν αὶ νιλοβρόχοι ἐκάστ(η)

[ἀ]νὰ (ἀρτ.) δε' (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) κεγ'

[⊥ Πανα]ροῦς τὸ δ' (ἀρτ.) σδ'

[.....]ος Σερήνου καὶ Σιλβανὸς Σόιτος

[ἐ]κ τοῦ Ἐρμοφίλ[ου] (ἀρ.) γζω φό(ρου) ἀποτάκ(του)

25 [ὡς ἐπ]άνω δεδ[ή]λλ(ωται) ἀνά (ἀρτ.) δεξ' (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) ἰζ̄.
 [....] [..] κοίτ(ης) [(ἀρ.)] (γίν.) (ἀρτ.).
 [.....].ξ[

Col. II

Πῆσις Μαξίμου Μοσίστιος Τ[ι]τηροῦς

ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) δδ' (ἀρ.) βδ' φό(ρου) ἀποτ(άκτου) τῶν ὄ[λω]ν

30 (ἀρτ.) καθῆ ὦν αἰ νι(λόβροχοι) (ἀρ.) ἀ(νά) (ἀρτ.) εἰῶ (ἀρτ.) ιαῶ

⊥ ἐμετρήθ(ησαν) (ἀρτ.) ζ λουπ(ή) (ἀρτ.)

Φιβίων ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπ(έρ) ὦν γεωργεῖ ἐκ τοῦ

Ἰσαζέλιμος (ἀρ.) ε ἀνά (ἀρτ.) δεξ' (ἀρτ.) κγξ'

καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βίθνος ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) ιε (ἀρ.) ε ἀποτ(άκτου) (ἀρτ.) κγξ'

35 ⊥ Παναροῦς (ἀρτ.) ιξξ̄ ιῶ

Κολλούθος ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπ(έρ) ὦν γεωργεῖ ἐκ τοῦ

[Γ]σιδώρου καὶ Διοκλέους κοίτ(ης) (ἀρ.) ζ [(ἀρ.)] ς νι(λόβροχου)

(ἀρ.) ῶ φό(ρου) ἀποτ(άκτου) τῶν ὄλων (ἀρτ.) ι ὦν [αἰ] νι(λόβροχοι)

[ἀ(νά)] (ἀρτ.) ας'

(ἀρτ.) ξ'

40 ⊥ Παναροῦς τὸ δ' (ἀρτ.) ἠιῶ

Π[α]ροῦς Παθώτου ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου

(ἀρ.) α ἀποτάκ(του) (ἀρτ.)

[.]α.. ἐκ κλ(ήρου) σκωληκ... (ἀρ.) α. (ἀρτ.) []

⊥ Π[α]ναροῦς τὸ ῶ (ἀρτ.) γῆτολβ

45 [Π]ερε. ὦτος Πουήτος ἐκ τοῦ

(ἀρ.) ξ' φό(ρου) ἀποτ(άκτου) (ἀρτ.) [

[...]τος Νάννου Μηνοφίλου [

[..]δ' καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) Νομηγίου (ἀρ.) ςδ'

[..]ῶ φό(ρου) ἀποτ(άκτου) (ἀρτ.) κεξ' ὦν αἰ νι(λόβροχοι) ἐκ-

[ἀστ(η)]

50 [] ες νι(λόβροχου) (ἀρ.) εδ' (γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) ιδ

⊥ Παναροῦς τὸ δ' (ἀρ.?) ςδ' (ἀρτ.) γς'

[....]ς Ἀπολλωνίου ἦτοι Παθώ[του ὀφείλ(ει)]

[ὑ(πέρ) ἐκφο]ρίου ἐκ τοῦ Νομηγίου (ἀρ.) [

[] (ἀρτ.) β Παναροῦς τὸ ῶ (ἀρτ.) α

55 [.....].[...].ω[

2 S'' 3 l. νει(λοβρόχου); so too elsewhere 9 l. Σεκούδου 30 ε of εἰῶ is a correction

4 ὄλων (ἀρ.) γ': it is clear from l. 6 that the amount due for the whole 3½ arourae is stated here merely to indicate the rate (5 art. per aroura) reckoned for the 1½ aroura flooded land, on which alone the rent has to be paid.

6 L = ὄν.

Παναροῦς. This form is quoted by Preisigke only once, from W. O. 936, but Παναρώς is no doubt the same name. In the present document Panarous receives either one-half of the amount due (ll. 12, 16, 33, 34, 54) or one-fourth (ll. 6, 22, 40, 51). These differences make it improbable that the payments are a perquisite. The most probable explanation is that Panarous was a sitologus and that the amount after his name represents the amount of the rent paid to him. This view is supported by l. 31, where instead of his name we find ὦν ἐμετρήθ(ησαν) κτλ. Line 6 was just possibly a later addition.

7-8 ἀντιπαρεχ(ώρησει). The verb ἀντιπαραχωρεῖν occurs only once, in B.G.U. 1158, 6, 21, with the meaning 'return a mortgaged object after payment of the debt'; cf. Preisigke, *Wb.* s.v.; here, where that sense is inappropriate, the meaning seems to be simply 'cede', perhaps for a consideration. ⚭ after παρεχ(ώρησει) seems to stand for one aroura; there is no trace of α.

9 Σεκούδου: a curious error. Did the writer find in the draft from which he was copying σεκούδου and misplace the ν? (B.)

14 Μοχλιτίδος: this looks like a geographical adjective rather than a personal name. Α τόπος Μόχλη (Aphrodito, 8th cent.) occurs in P. Lond. iv. 1419, 43. (B.)

ἐκ τοῦ Ἀματόκου γ(ηδίου?): a κλήρος Ἀματόκου is known from P. Flor. i. 50 in the Hermopolite nome; here it will be an allotment of the same name in the Oxyrhynchite nome. [After this Miss Wegener read ς' with a note that 'the meaning of the ς (which might also be a γ) . . . is obscure'. The letter is more like γ than ς, and γ(ηδίου), though the word does not seem to occur in papyri before the 4th century, seems a likely reading. (B.)]

18 The trace before τοῦ does not suit the reading ε]κ.

19-22 This passage is to be compared with those in ll. 29-30, 36-9, and 47-50. Only by such comparison is it possible to arrive at a satisfactory explanation. The difficulty lies in the clause following ὦν (ll. 20, 30, 38, 49). Miss Wegener's readings in these lines were respectively ἄρου(ρα) ἐκάστ(η), αἰεἰ, [.]εἰ, and ἄρουρ(α) ἐκ[ἀστ(η)], though she recognized the similarity of the entries. Neither in l. 20 nor in l. 49 can ἄρουρα be read without straining the evidence of the characters, and it leaves ll. 30 and 38, where no such reading is at all possible, unexplained. In l. 30 αἰ is an obvious reading (εἰ need be doubted only because the stroke is not quite straight). In l. 20, and little less so in l. 49, αἰ suits the characters far better than anything else and can be rejected only on very strong countervailing evidence. What follows is, however, very puzzling. In l. 20 it looks like β' (the beta of the cursive form) or ζ'; in l. 30 the obvious reading is εἰ; in l. 38, where there is a lacuna, all that is visible looks like εἰ, with the end of a horizontal (?) stroke preceding it; and in l. 49 what can be seen bears little resemblance to any letter, except perhaps a badly made δ, the sign for ¼. In every case, however, except in ll. 47-50, which are at present unexplained (see note *ad loc.*), if we take what follows αἰ as an abbreviation or symbol of νιλόβροχοι we get a reading which suits the arithmetic and the whole context. In all other cases where the word occurs, it is true, the letters written are formed normally and clearly enough, but it is possible that a recurrent phrase like ὦν αἰ νιλόβροχοι might be written with a negligence or a conventionality not indulged in when νιλοβρόχου occurs alone.

Accepting this provisionally as the solution, we can explain the present entry as follows: The holding contained 7½ arourae, of which 5½ were naturally irrigated. This left 2 arourae for which artificial irrigation was necessary. On these the rent was at the rate of 3½ artabae per aroura; the

characters ζ (perhaps a later insertion) $\gamma\beta$, though not read by Miss Wegener, seem certain. For some reason, not discoverable owing to the lacuna at the beginning of l. 20, the rent on these arourae seems actually to be reckoned at the rate of $4\frac{3}{4}$ artabae, for $9\frac{1}{2}$, which occurs in l. 20, gives the correct total at that rate. This rent is, however, ignored in the final result: the naturally irrigated $5\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, at the rate of $4\frac{3}{4}$ artabae, give a total rent of $25\frac{1}{4}$ artabae, correctly entered in l. 21. A quarter of this amount was to be delivered to Panarous (l. 22, where $\varsigma\delta'$ should be $\varsigma\gamma'$). The beginning of l. 20 remains obscure. There may have been a statement that the rent was equated with that on the $\nu\lambda\delta\beta\rho\chi\omicron\iota$ arourae, but λ is written on the line, not above ι as elsewhere, nor is ι certain; it might be ρ . There is, moreover, no artaba sign before $\theta\omega$.

In ll. 28-30 the total holding was $4\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, of which $2\frac{1}{2}$ were naturally irrigated (the word $\nu\lambda$ is omitted). The rent on the whole was $21\frac{3}{4}$ (the fractions should be $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{12} \frac{1}{18}$) at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ artabae per aroura, but only the rent on the $\nu\lambda\delta\beta\rho\chi\omicron\iota$ is reckoned, amounting to $11\frac{1}{2}$ (correctly $11\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{18}$). For the payment to Panarous see note on l. 31.

In ll. 36-40 the total holding was 7 arourae; 6 of these were farmed by Colluthus but only $\frac{1}{2}$ aroura was naturally irrigated. The rate was $1\frac{1}{2}$ artabae per aroura. If $\tau\omega\upsilon\delta\lambda\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ in l. 38 refers to the whole 7 arourae the total rent is $10\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, if (as is more probable) to the 6 farmed by Colluthus it is 9 artabae. The figure ι is therefore an error. Only the rent on the naturally irrigated $\frac{1}{2}$ aroura is reckoned; this is correctly stated as $\frac{3}{4}$ artaba. For 47-50 see the note *ad loc.*

It appears then that in every case to take the clause beginning $\delta\upsilon\upsilon$ as a specification of the rent payable on the naturally irrigated land, which alone is owing, gives an excellent sense and suits the evidence of the account as a whole, which appears to be a statement of rent owing on land irrigated by the Nile. Perhaps, owing to special circumstances, the rent on the artificially irrigated (or, in some cases, quite unirrigated?) land was being remitted, or the tenants had been granted a postponement of payment. (B.)

24 $\epsilon\iota\kappa$ τοῦ Ἐρμοφίλου: sc. κλήρου.

25 The trace of ink after $\iota\zeta$ can hardly be a fraction, because 17 artabae are approximately the amount due for $3\frac{1}{8}$ arourae at a rate of $4\frac{3}{4}$ artabae.

28 $\text{Μοσιότιος } \Gamma[\iota]\text{τηροῦς}$: it is not clear whether this is a second tenant, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ being understood or accidentally omitted, or whether these are the names of Pesis' grandfather and great-grandfather. Μοσιότιος looks like a genitive, but it is very unusual to give four generations. Miss Wegener read Μοσιότιος κλήρου , but this seems impossible. (B.)

31 ($\delta\alpha\rho\tau.$) ζ : if the ($\delta\alpha\rho\tau.$) at the end means 1 artaba, as perhaps in l. 42, this figure should be $\iota\omega$, and this was read by Miss Wegener, though with some misgiving. She may have been right, but the reading implies a quite remarkable malformation of the characters, for the obvious reading is a large Z, and it is perhaps better to assume that the clerk omitted the figures after ($\delta\alpha\rho\tau.$). (B.)

35 As in l. 31 it is not stated what fraction $17\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{2}$ artabae represent of the total amount due. The marginal note before ll. 33 and 34 is perhaps a more accurate statement of the amount.

37 ($\delta\alpha\rho.$) ζ [($\delta\alpha\rho.$)] ς : there is no other instance of a triple specification, (a) total $\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\eta$, (b) portion farmed by the tenant, (c) portion $\nu\lambda\delta\beta\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$, but there was clearly a good deal of variety in the treatment of the entries. (B.)

38 $\tau\omega\upsilon\delta\lambda\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ ($\delta\alpha\rho\tau.$) ι : cf. ll. 19-22 n.

42 There is no trace of ink after the artaba sign, which may therefore stand for 1 artaba, but this is a very small rent, and it may be that the figure was accidentally omitted or was widely separated from the symbol and is lost in the lacuna. Cf. l. 31 n.

$\epsilon\iota\kappa$ κλήρου: read with all reserve, but the reading is palaeographically easy enough. Elsewhere we get either (a) a name followed by κλήρου or (b) $\epsilon\iota\kappa$ τοῦ followed by a name. $\sigma\kappa\omega\lambda\eta\kappa\ldots$ might perhaps be read $\Sigma\kappa\omega\lambda\eta\kappa\phi\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, but such a name is hardly credible. (B.)

45 [II]ετεροῦτος might be read at the beginning. (B.)

47-50 These lines are very puzzling. $\eta\delta'$ in l. 48 is presumably part of the specification of the first holding, to which the $\varsigma\delta'$ at the end of the line has to be added. Probably the total came at the beginning of l. 49. The rent that follows should be the total rent on the complete holding; the rate on the Nile-irrigated portion should come at the beginning of l. 50, where η ($\delta\alpha\rho\tau.$) $\epsilon\iota$ could be read. But a total rent of $25\frac{3}{4}$ artabae at a rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ artabae per aroura indicates an area of $4\frac{1}{2}$ (say $4\frac{3}{4}$) arourae, which is obviously too small to be the total. Moreover, if $5\frac{1}{2}$ is the rate, the total rent on $5\frac{1}{4}$ arourae

(l. 50) should be $28\frac{3}{4}$ artabae, not 14. The mystery does not end there. A quarter of 14 is, as stated in l. 51, $3\frac{1}{2}$, but why is the entry of $6\frac{1}{4}$ arourae repeated before it? $3\frac{1}{2}$ is not a quarter of the rent on $6\frac{1}{4}$ arourae at $5\frac{1}{2}$ artabae per aroura. Moreover the symbol before $\varsigma\delta'$ looks rather more like that for $\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$ ἀρτάβαι than that for $\delta\alpha\rho\upsilon\rho\alpha$, though the latter is not impossible. (B.)

2243 (a). RECEIPTS FROM AND EXPENDITURE ON ESTATES.

34 × 172.7 cm.

A.D. 590.

This account is closely similar to 1911, 1912, and 2195. That it relates, like them, to estates of the Apion family might be inferred from the occurrence of place-names familiar in the papers of that family (though several of the names found in it are new or not previously known in connexion with the Apions); but this inference is rendered certain by the mention on the verso of Flavia Praejecta and Flavius Apion (III). These names make it possible to identify the ninth indiction mentioned in the account as that of A.D. 590-1, and consequently to date the document in the autumn of 590.

The account is arranged on lines closely parallel to those of the others cited above. 1911 relates to the year A.D. 557, 2195 may be of 576. It is a remarkable proof of the strength of tradition in the management of private estates that the pattern of these accounts should for so long have remained without any essential change, particularly when we remember that in each case different portions of the estate are concerned, at least in the main.

The present account begins abruptly, without a general heading, but no part of it was lost at the beginning, for the lower portion of a protocol of Byzantine type precedes the first column. This is as usual illegible; the conclusion can without much difficulty (but with no certainty) be read as ϕ $\omega\delta\iota\kappa/\beta$, but whether ϕ is part of $\Phi\omega\omega\phi\iota$, of Ἐπειφ , or of some other month name is more conjectural. It may be, since no heading precedes col. I, that ll. 86-8 on the verso are intended as the heading to the whole account (see note *ad loc.*), but it is possible that this is the second of two rolls. It appears to be complete at the end, unless indeed it was continued on a further roll. The papyrus is broken at the bottom, but probably no complete line is lost from any column, certainly not from cols. III-V. On the verso, besides ll. 86-95, another hand has written 2243 (b).

Col. I

- 1 $[\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}) \text{ Ἰωάννου υἱοῦ Ταλίου καὶ } [\kappa\omicron\iota]\gamma(\omega\upsilon\omega\upsilon\upsilon) \{ \kappa\alpha\iota \} \pi\omega\mu[\alpha\rho(\iota\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon)] \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\ldots]$
 $[[\gamma\rho(\mu.)\lambda]] \quad \nu\omicron(\mu.) \lambda$
- 2 $[\pi(\alpha.)] \Sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\lambda\eta\rho(\omicron\upsilon\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\upsilon) \text{ Π}[\epsilon[\tau]\rho\omega\upsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon \beta\omicron\eta\theta(\omicron\upsilon)] \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron \tau\eta\varsigma \alpha[\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma] \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$
 $\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon (\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota) \lambda\delta\{\delta'\} \chi\omicron(\iota\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\varsigma) \epsilon \nu\omicron(\mu.) \gamma\delta\delta'$
- 3 $\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho(\omicron\varsigma) \lambda\alpha\chi\alpha\upsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \text{ Παλέκτορος} \quad \nu\omicron(\mu.) \delta$
- 4 $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\omega\mu(\eta) \Sigma\epsilon\omicron\kappa\omega\mu\epsilon\omega\varsigma \omicron\upsilon\tau(\omega\varsigma) \ast$
- 5 $\pi(\alpha.) \text{ Ἐλᾶτος φρο(ντιστοῦ) ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς } [\kappa\omega\mu(\eta\varsigma) \Sigma\epsilon\omicron\kappa\omega\mu\epsilon\omega\varsigma \quad \nu\omicron(\mu.) \eta\upsilon\kappa\eta'$

- 6 π(α.) Παμουθίου Πανεχοούτο[s] και Φοιβάμμωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης)
νο(μ.) κικη'
- 7 π(α.) Ἀμμωνίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς [κ]ώμ(ης) δ(ιὰ) Ἰωάννου Μέλανος νο(μ.) η
- 8 π(α.) Παμουθίου και Βίκτορος [καί] Ἰωάννου και Ἀβρααμ[ο]ν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
νο(μ.) κα
- 9 π(α.) Ἐρᾶ Ἀνουθίου ἀπὸ τῆς α[ὐτῆς] κώμ(ης) νο(μ.) κγ
- 10 π(α.) Ἰωάννου Μέλανος ἀπὸ τῆ[s] α[ὐτῆς] κώμ(ης) νο(μ.) ιη
- 11 και ἀπὸ ἀγορασί(ας) Ἡρακλ[εί]ου κώμ(ης).
- 12 π(α.) Ἀπολλῶ Βιταλίου ἀπὸ τῆς α[ὐτῆς] κώμ(ης) νο(μ.) ηδ'
- 13 π(α.) Ὀνοφρίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆ[s] κώμ(ης) νο(μ.) ηγ'κδ'
- 14 π(α.) Ἀγουθίου Φιλέου δ(ιὰ) Ἀβραα[μίου] ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης) νο(μ.) θ
- 15 π(α.) Ἰωάννου πρε(σβυτέρου) και κοιν(ωνῶν) δ(ιὰ) Π[.....] προ(νοητοῦ)
Ἀματήνης [νο(μ.)]α
- 16 π(α.) Ἀπολλῶ Ὀνοφρίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης) [νο(μ.)] ηδ'
- 17 π(α.) Ἰσὰκ Παπνουθίου ἐτέρου [ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς] κώμ(ης) [νο(μ.)]..
- 18 π(α.) Ἰωάννου καταμ() ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης) [νο(μ.)]..
- 19 π(α.) Φοιβάμμωνος τέκτ(ονος) δ(ιὰ) [.....].ου [νο(μ.)]..
- 20 ἐποικ(ίου) Πεστᾶ [..... ἀπὸ ἀγ]ορασί(ας) τῶν υἱῶν Τουάνου.
- 21 π(α.) Σαρμάτου και κοιν(ωνῶν) δ(ιὰ) ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τος) Πεστᾶ
σίτου κ(αγ.) [(ἀρτ.)].
- 22 π(α.) Ἰωάννου πρε(σβυτέρου) δ(ιὰ) [..... ἀπὸ τοῦ] αὐτ(οῦ) []

4 κωμμῆ, and so regularly throughout. 8 First stroke of κ in κα remade, or κ corrected to ι

Col. II

- 23 [π(α.)...]τος πρε(σβυτέρου) και κοιν(ωνῶν) ἀπὸ Ἡρακλᾶ [] σίτου κ(αγ.)
(ἀρτ.) ρξηδ' χ(οίν.)ζ (και?) ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπήs) []
- 24 π(α.) [...]ρ[...] κα[ί] Παμουθίου δ(ιὰ) Ἀταύλο[υ]..... ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σίτου
(ἀρτ.) μς χο(ίν.) η (και?) ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπήs) [] νο(μ.) βγ'μ[η]ζ'
- 25 π(α.) τ[ῶν] αὐτῶν και προκειμ(ένων) γεωρ(γῶν) [ἀ]π[ὸ] τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) κτήμα(τος)
ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπήs) νο(μ.). γ'κδ'μ[η] ζς'
- 26 π(α.) τῶ[ν] αὐτῶν και προκειμ(ένων) γεωρ(γῶν) (ὑπὲρ) τι[μ]ῆς[] στιππ(ίου) και
συντελ(είας) κεφαλ(ῆs) [ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπήs)] νό(μ.) α
- 27 π(α.) τῶ[ν] αὐτῶν και προκειμ(ένων) γεωρ(γῶν) (ὑπὲρ) φόρ(ου) μυλαίου και
φόρ(ου) φοινίκ(ων) ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπήs) νό(μ.) αδ'

- 28 π(α.) τῶν αὐτῶν και προκειμ(ένων) γεωρ(γῶν) (ὑπὲρ) τιμ(ῆs) δέλφακ(ος)
ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπήs) νο(μ.) ςημ[η]
- 29 π(α.) τῶν αὐτῶν και προκειμ(ένων) γεωρ(γῶν) (ὑπὲρ) ἀποτάκ(ου) χωρ(ίου)
ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπήs) νο(μ.) ζς
- 30 ἐν τῇ Νοτιῶν Παρορίου.
- 31 π(α.) Ἰ[σ]ὰκ και Θεοφίλου και κοιν(ωνῶν) ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Λιθίνης ἐκ(τὸς)
ῥ(οπήs) νο(μ.) ες'κδ'
- 32 π(α.) Ἰωάννου και κοιν(ωνῶν) ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Σοφροσύνης ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπήs)
νο(μ.) βςη
- 33 π(α.) Ἀ[πο]λλῶ και κοιν(ωνῶν) ἀπὸ Πεκτῆ ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπήs) νο(μ.) γγ'κδ'ς'
- 34 π(α.) Ἀ[σ]κλᾶ ἀπὸ Παγγύλεως ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπήs) νο(μ.) βιο'
- 35 ἐν κώμ(η) Ταμπέμ[ου].
- 36 π(α.) Ἀπολλ[λ]ῶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης) σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ο
- 37 π(α.) κληρ(ονόμων) Βίκτορος ἀπὸ οἰνοχειρ(ιστῶν) δ(ιὰ) Ἀπολλῶ υ[ί]ο[υ]
σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ςδ χο(ίν.) [.] νο(μ.) ςγ'μ[η]
- 38 π(α.) κληρ(ονόμων) Γεροντίου δ(ιὰ) Ἰωσήφ [ζυγ]οστάτου σίτου κ(αγ.)
(ἀρτ.) λς
- 39 π(α.) Σίων[ος] Ἡλίου μειζ(οτέρου) και Ἰω[άννου] .. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης)
σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ις νό(μ.) ακδ'
- 40 π(α.) Ἰωάννου και Παπνουθίου [ἀπὸ].εναῖπε σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ρκ
νο(μ.) ιγγ'
- 41 π(α.) Μου[σ]αίου Ἰσὰκ και κληρ(ονόμων) ἀπὸ Πτύχεως σίτου κ(αγ.)
(ἀρτ.) ζ νο(μ.)ς
- 42 π(α.) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν κωμαρ[χῶν] κώμ(ης) .]μεως νό(μ.) γ'
- 43 π(α.) κληρ(ονόμων) Γεροντίου δ(ιὰ) Ἰωσήφ ζυγ(οστάτου) νο(μ.) κδ
- 44 π(α.) ἄπα Ὁρ Ἰωσήφ [δ(ιὰ) ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κ]ώμ(ης) σίτο[υ] κ(αγ.)
[(ἀρτ.)] blank
- 45 [π(α.) τ]ῶν αὐτῶν κληρ(ονόμων) Γεροντίου δ(ιὰ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζυγ(οστάτου)
[σ]ίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) .] blank

32 l. Σοφροσύνης 33 l. Πεκτύ

Col. III

- 46 π(α.) τ[ῶν] αὐτῶν [κ]ληρ(ονόμων) [Βί]κτορος (ὑπὲρ) τῆς μεγάλ(ης) οὐσία[s]
νό(μ.) ς'
- 47 π(α.) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τ[ῶν] γεωρ(γῶν) ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς (ὑπὲρ) φόρ(ου) τῶν [γ]ηδ(ίων)

κ

- 48 φ[υτευ]θ(έντων) ἐν ἀμπέλ(ω) ἐν μηχ(ανῆ) Τεπότ σὺν ῥο(πῆ) νο(μ.) κδ
π(α.) ρη
- 49 π(α.) τρῦ κ[οιν(οῦ)] τῶν γεωργ(ῶν) ἐποικ(ίου) Σατύρου σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) σδ
- 50 π(α.) [Α]μοῦπ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐποικ(ίου) Σατύρου σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ρμ
- 51 π(α.) τῶν γεωργ(ῶν) (ὑπὲρ) μηχ(ανῆς) Τῶν Σκυτέων σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) οβ
- 52 π(α.) τῶν ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Παλίδου (ὑπὲρ) μηχ(ανῆς) Ἰσιδος σίτου κ(αγ.)
(ἀρτ.) ρλεδ' νο(μ.) κβςδ'
- 53 π(α.) τοῦ πωμαρ(ίτου) του αὐ(τοῦ) κτήμ(ατος) Παλίδου (ὑπὲρ) φόρ(ου) πωμαρ(ίου)
νο(μ.) ζ ἀφ' (ῶν) (ὑπὲρ) ἐνχόρτου τοῦ πωμαρίου (ἀρ.) (ι)γ χόρτου
- 54 (ἀρ.) θ. συντελ(είας) (ὑπὲρ) ἐκάστου (ἀρ.) νο(μ.) ςκδ' μῆς γί(νεται)
- 55 νο(μ.) εἡμῆς
- 56 λου(πὸν) νο(μ.) αςγ'ςς', ἐξ ὧν (ὑπὲρ) μισθ(οῦ) τοῦ πωμαρίου σ(ίτου)
(καγ.) (ἀρτ.) ζς τῶν
- 57 (ἀρτ.) ιγς νο(μ.) α, Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) ςκδ'ςς', τὰ ἰ(διωτικ)ῶ νο(μ.)
ςιο'ςς', λου(πὸν)
- 58 (ὑπὲρ) φόρ(ου) πωμαρίου νο(μ.) αδ' γί(νεται) νο(μ.) αδ'

55 l. ἐκάστης 57 κδ' perhaps a correction

Col. IV

- 59 + γί(νονται) λημμ(άτων) τῆς αὐτῆ[ς] ἐν]ἀτη[ς] ἰνδ(ικ.) σίτου μέτ(ρω) (ἀρτ.)
βοβδ' χ(οίν.) η καὶ
- 60 κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) τας χ(οίν.) δ καὶ σὺν ῥ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) νοβμῆςς' π(α.) κερ(άτ.) ρη καὶ
ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπῆς) νο(μ.) λεκδ'ςς' καὶ
- 61 ἀργ(υρίου) (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ,ας, ἐξ ὧν κουφ(ίζονται) <(ὑπὲρ)> Νήσου
Λαχανιάς τὰς καὶ ἐνεχθ(είσας) εἰς τὸν
- 62 λόγ(ον) Βίκτορος προ(νοητοῦ) Φάκρα σίτου μέτ(ρω) (ἀρτ.) λδςδ' καὶ νο(μ.)
ςδ' σὺν τῷ γηδ[ε]ω
- 63 Καρ(υ)οφυλ(άκων) καὶ (ὑπὲρ) τῶν κήπων Νήσου Λαχανιάς νο(μ.) λ καὶ (ὑπὲρ)
- 64 τοῦ κηπίου Παλέκτορος νο(μ.) δ, γί(νονται) τοῦ κουφισμ(οῦ) σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.)
λδςδ' χ(οίν.) ε καὶ
- 65 σὺν ῥ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) μςδ' λου(πὰ) λημμ(άτων) θ ἰνδ(ικ.) σίτου μέτ(ρω) (ἀρτ.) βλη,
αἰ κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) βτμγς χ(οίν.) η καὶ
- 66 ἄλλ(αι) κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) τας χ(οίν.) δ, γί(νονται) σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ,γμεδ'
χ(οίν.) β καὶ σὺν ῥ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) υλβκδ' μῆςς' π(α.) κερ(άτ.) ρη

- 67 εἰς νο(μ.) δς, καθ(αρὰ) νο(μ.) υκςςκδ' μῆςς' καὶ ἐκ(τὸς) ῥο(πῆς) νο(μ.) λε
κδ'ςς' καὶ ἀργυρ(ίου) (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ,ας
- 68 + φέρεται δ(ιὰ) τοῦ προ(νοητοῦ) Παγγουλείου (ὑπὲρ) τῶν μηχ(ανῶν) κώμ(ης)
Ταμπέμου σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ωγ χ(οίν.) θ καὶ
- 69 σὺν ῥ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) οςς'κδ' μῆ π(α.) κερ(άτ.) ρη εἰς νο(μ.) δς, καθ(αρὰ) νο(μ.)
σαμκδ' μῆ ὡς λου(πὰ) λημμ(άτων)
- 70 θ ἰνδ(ικ.) σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) βυλβ χ(οίν.) γ καὶ σὺν ῥ(οπῆ) νο(μ.) τνεμῆμῆ
ςς' καὶ ἐκ(τὸς) ῥο(πῆς) νο(μ.) λεκδ'ςς'
- 71 καὶ ἀργυρ(ίου) (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ,ας κ[αἰ] (ὑπὲρ) τοῦ ἄλλ(ου) (ἡμίους)
μέρ(ους) τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Ἰσιδος σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) οςςδ' (καὶ) νο(μ.) ιβ
- 72 γί(νονται) δ(μοῦ) σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) βφθ[ςδ'] χ(οίν.) ζ καὶ σὺν ῥ(οπῆ) νο(μ.)
τςζμῆμῆ[ς]ς' καὶ ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπῆς) νο(μ.) λεκδ'ςς'
- 73 καὶ ἀργυρ(ίου) (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ,ας.

63 l. κήπων

Col. V

- 74 + ἐξ ὧν ἀνηλώθ(ησαν) ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς θ ἰνδ(ικ.)•
- 75 εἰς τὰς ἀγί(ας) ἐκκλησί(ας) τῶν ἐξῆς κτημ(άτων) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.)
κηςδ' χ(οίν.) ς νο(μ.) γςγ'ιο' π(α.) κερ(άτ.) [
- 76 ἐκκλησί(αν) Τριγίου (ἀρτ.) ς νο(μ.) α π(α.) α, ἐκκλησί(αν) Νο[τ]μοῦ (ἀρτ.) δ
νο(μ.) ςδ' π(α.) ςδ'
- 77 ἐκκλησί(αν) Πολέμωνος (ἀρτ.) ς νο(μ.) α π(α.) α, εἰς τὸν Ἀρχάγ[γ]ελον Μιχαῆλ
(ἀρτ.) β νο(μ.) δ' π(α.) δ'
- 78 ἐκκλησί(αν) Πεστᾶ νο(μ.) δ' π(α.) δ', ἐκκλησί(αν) Ἡρακλᾶ (ἀρτ.) δ τὰ
προκ(είμενα)
- 79 τοῖς πλινθ(ευταῖς) πλινθ(εύουσι) ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς κτήμ(ασιν) (ὑπὲρ) μισθ(οῦ) ὀπτ(ῆς)
πλινθ(ου) (μυριάδων) η σὺν μισθ(ῶ) οἰκοδόμ(ων) σί(του) κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) β
νο(μ.) β π(α.) κερ(άτ.) [
- 80 Πολέμωνος (μυριάδ.) β, Τριγίου (μυριάδ.) β, Νοτινοῦ (μυριάδ.) β, Ἡρακλᾶ
(μυριάδ.) β τὰ προκ(είμενα)
- 81 τῷ προ(νοητῆ) λόγ(ω) ὀψωνίου κατὰ τὸ ἔθος σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) κδ
- 82 τοῖς ἀπὸ Τριγίου (ὑπὲρ) δημ(οσίων) τῆς ἀντικαταλλαγῆς τῶ[ν] ἀπὸ διαφ(όρων)
κατὰ τὸ ἔθος σί(του) κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ιβδ' νο(μ.) ςδ' π(α.) [
- 83 τῷ ἐργοδιώκ(τῃ) ἐποικ(ίου) Τριγίου (ὑπὲρ) μισθ(οῦ) νο(μ.) β π(α.) ζ καὶ τῷ
ἐργοδιώκ(τῃ) Νοτινοῦ νο(μ.) α π(α.) γς γί(νεται) νο(μ.) γ [π(α.)] ες

- 84 συνεχωρήθ(η) Σαρμάτου θρυκοπ(έως) ἀπὸ Νοτινοῦ ἐκ κ[ελε]ύσ(εως) τοῦ μεγάλ(ου)
κυρ(ίου) [ν]ο(μ.) α [
- 85 συνεχωρήθ(η) τοῖς ἀπὸ Τριγύ[ου] [νο(μ.)

84 l. Σαρμάτη θρυκοπ(εῖ)

On the Verso of Col. I and II.

- 86 (2nd hand) + Φλ(αουίους) Πραιέκτη τῆ ὑπερφουστ(άτη) ὑπατίσση καὶ Ἀπίωνι
{καὶ} τῷ πανευφ(ήμω) ὑπάτω γε[ουχοῦσι]
- 87 καὶ ἐνταῦθα(α) τῆ λαμπρ(ᾶ) Ὁξυρυγγ(ιτῶν) πόλει. λόγ(ος) λημμ(άτων) καὶ
ἀναλωμ(άτων) γε[νομένων δι' ἐμοῦ]
- 88 Φιλοξένου προ(νοητοῦ) Φατεμήντ καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπων ἐ[π]ῖ [τ]ῆ[ς]
- ἐ[νάτης ἰνδ(ικτ.)].]
- 89 † Ἐδδόθ(η) δι(ὰ) τοῦ εὐδοκ(ίμου) Φοιβάμμωνος τραπεζ(ίτου) τῷ [χ]ρ[υσοῦ]
- 90 (ὑπέρ) κανονικ(ῶν) θ ἰνδ(ικτ.) χρυσοῦ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νομίσματ(α) ἑκατόν,
γί(νεται) χρ(υσ.) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) ρ μ(όνα).
- 91 + σξζ (καὶ) ολς Ἀθῦρ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ἐν[ν]άτης.
- 92 † Ἐδδόθ(η) δι(ὰ) τοῦ εὐδοκ(ίμου) Φοιβάμμωνος τραπεζ(ίτου) τοῖς ις συμμάχ(οις)
ἀπερχομ(ένους)
- 93 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ(εία) μετὰ τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) Ἱερημίου χαρτ(ουλαρίου) τῆς Κυνῶν
λόγ(ω) ἀναλω[μ(άτων)]
- 94 (ὑπέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) λ χρυσοῦ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νομίσματ(α) τέσσαρα γί(νεται) χρ(υσ.)
Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) δ μ(όνα).
- 95 + σξη (καὶ) ολς Ἀθῦρ ἰνδ(ικτ.) δεκάτης.

91 ζ of σξζ corrected from η

1 It seems improbable that καὶ was correctly written here: the *πωμαρίται* were presumably John and his partners.

4 The doubling of the final consonant in an abbreviation was a device to indicate the plural, whether of a noun or of a verb. Its use in this account for *κώμη*, like the meaningless overwritten *ε* (one can hardly believe that the clerk would have written *κωμε*), is an instance of the unintelligent thoughtlessness so common in writers of the Byzantine age (and earlier) in Egypt.

5 $\text{ϣ} = \frac{3}{8}$.

11 Taken alone the entries in ll. 12-19 might be payments made by individuals in the village of Herakleion for a joint purchase, or rather perhaps in connexion with a general sale made by the estate to its tenants (*ἀγορασι(ῶν)* is a less likely extension). Line 20, however, makes it probable that in both cases it is a question of property purchased by the estate; the tenants of the former owners now make their payments to the Apion family.

15 Ἀματήνης: this name appears to be new to Oxyrhynchite topography; but cf. the *ἔδαφος Ἀμάτου* of 1911 146, 205. Presumably an estate.

18 καταμ(): cf. 2244 39, where the papyrus has *καταμεν*. It is natural to connect the two words. Here *καταμένοντος* suggests itself; the meaning would presumably be that the person so described was a resident only, not a native, though the following *ἀπό*, if *τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης* is rightly restored, makes against this, since *ἀπό* normally denotes the *origo*. For *καταμένω* in this sense see Preisigke, *WB.*, s.v., especially P. Cairo Masp. ii. 67155, 3-5, *ἀρμώμενος μὲν ἀπὸ κώμης Ἱσιδίου . . . καταμένων δὲ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐνταῦθα κτλ.* The context in 2244 39, however, does not suit this, for there it would be necessary to read *καταμείν(αντι)*, and moreover the word takes a genitive. A client or serf of the *βοηθός* is suggested. It is perhaps worth while to compare the medieval Latin uses of *mansionarii*, *manentes*, for which see Du Cange, s.vv. Reference may also be made to 1890 2, Ἀφούνας δ καὶ Καταμίνης and 1889 8, where, according to Miss Wegener, *καταμίνη* could be read, if it gave any sense. See, however, 2238 11 above, *παρამένονα αὐτῆ ἐν τάξει δουλελευθέρου*, where *παρამένειν* has precisely the sense which seems to suit *καταμ()* here and in 2244.

20 See l. 11 n. At the end no π is written after *ανου*, which therefore cannot be Ἀνοῦπ. A name Ἀνοῦός is well attested, but it seems better to take *Τουάνου* as the name; cf. *Τουάν, Τουάνης*, Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. *Πεστᾶ* is again a name new to the Oxyrhynchite nome, but it is known in the Arsinoite nome (*Stud.* x. 193, 8; xx. 238r, 14).

23 (καί?): both here and in the next line this character, a curved stroke like S, which stands slightly to the left of the general alinement at this point, is quite unlike the abbreviated *ἐκ(τός) ρ(σπῆς)* of succeeding lines. Probably in these two lines, where for the first time corn payments appear, the clerk introduced the money payment with a (καί). In both cases the following character can easily be read as *ε*.

26 γ(μ.) α: the α is read rather as the least unlikely figure within the probable range of payments than as very convincing in itself.

27 φοινικ(ων): or *φοινικ(ῶνος)*, but the rent is not large.

31 Λιθίνης: again apparently a new name.

35 Ταμπέμ[ου]: this spelling is not recorded in Preisigke, *WB.* iii, Abschn. 16a, but it occurs in P.S.I. viii. 945, 22 and 1491 13; so too 2244 86, 87. The commoner spelling is *Ταμπέμου*.

37 ἀπὸ οἰνοχειρ(ιστῶν): presumably a (former?) member of a trade guild. It is unlikely that the word has a topographical significance.

41 Πτύχεως: again new, unless it is a variant of *Πτώχης* (913 6, *SB.* 1972).

44 [δ(α)]: the / of δ/ is visible.

47 [γ]ηδ(ων): Miss Wegener had tentatively suggested (*ἀρουρῶν*) ης, but to take the visible character as the symbol for *ἀρουρα* involves the supposition that the word was here represented by an entirely different symbol from that used in ll. 54, 55, which has the form usual in the Roman period. The reading here adopted, with the help of Mr. Roberts, seems quite possible.

48 Τεπότ: cf. 2195 170.

52 Παλίδου: the same name (though of course a different place) is possibly to be recognized in *Stud.* x. 285, 4 Παλῖ / (Fayūm).

Ἱσιδος: it is strange to find this name surviving in the late sixth century.

53-8 'From the fruit-grower of the same estate of Palidus for rent of an orchard, 7 solidi, whereof, for the portion of the orchard under grass, (total) 13 arourae, under grass 9 arourae, tax on each aroura (under grass) $\frac{5}{8}$ s., total $5\frac{3}{8}$ s., remainder $1\frac{3}{8}$ s., from which, for hire of the orchard (?), $7\frac{1}{2}$ *cancelus-artabae* of wheat at the rate of 1 s. per 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ art., = on the Alexandrian standard $\frac{5}{8}$ s., or on the private standard $\frac{5}{8}$ s.; remainder, for rent of the orchard, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ s. Total 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ s.' If, as in the text, we insert ι before γ in l. 54 (ι cannot be read) the arithmetic works out correctly and excellent sense is made. The orchard amounted to 13 arourae, 9 arourae of these were under grass, and an allowance on these was made to the tenant; cf. 1912 134, *συνε[χω]ρήθη τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ] ὑπ[έρ] ἐνχόρτου*, 1913 2-5, δ(α) τὸ τὰς ἀρουρ(ας) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) μηχ(ανῆς) δοθ(ῆναι) τοῖς εἰρημ(ένους) γεωργοῖς λόγ(ω) ἐνχόρτου, ὑπέρ οὗ τὴν ἀρδ(ευσιν) ποιήσ(ονται) εἰς τὰ πωμάρι(α) καὶ εἰς τὰ χωρ(ία) ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν κτημάτων ἀντὶ τῶν γεουχικ(ῶν) βοειδ(ων) τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκ(ου). After the defaced but very probable θ in l. 55 a stroke is visible, like that which marks a fraction, but 9 is the figure necessary to the arithmetic and the stroke may be part of the symbol for ὑπέρ, like that before *ἐκαστου*. *πωμαρίου* in l. 56 is unexpected: if it is right it is hard to see what relation the *μισθός τοῦ πωμαρίου* had to the *φόρος πωμαρίου*. Very likely the clerk, copying from a rough draft, misinterpreted *πωμαρ|* = *πωμαρίτου* as *πωμαρίου*. If so

this is an allowance to the *πωμαρίτης* for certain work in the orchard, deducted from the sum owed by him for rent. The actual fraction on the Alexandrian standard at the rate of 1 s. per 13½ art. is $\frac{15}{27}$ s., but this sum is not expressible by the fraction system of these accounts, and is here given with approximate accuracy as $\frac{53}{96}$ s.

59-73 The general total of receipts for the ninth indiction.

59 *σίτου μέτρ(ρω)* (ἀρτ.): see 1910 intr. and ll. 13-14 n. In 1911 this artaba has exactly, in 1910 approximately, 46 choenices, but in P. Iand. 63 (cf. P. Lond. 1718) its capacity is 48. The equation in l. 65 shows that in the present account the capacity is 46.

60 *κ(αγ.)* (ἀρτ.) *τασ χ(οίν.)* δ: cf. l. 66, from which it appears that this entry should properly be preceded by *ἄλλ(αι)*. Two kinds of artabae were used in payments: some payments were made in *μέτρ(ρω)* artabae, some in *cancellus*-artabae. From the 2072½ μ. artabae 8 choenices is deducted a remission of 34½ μ. artabae. (In l. 64 this amount is repeated as 34½ art. 5 ch. on the *cancellus* standard. If *κ(αγ.)* there is a slip of the pen for *μέτρ(ρω)* it is difficult to account for the *χ(οίν.)* ε, but the difference between 34½ μ. art. and the corresponding figure in *cancellus*-art. is a little over 5 art. It looks rather as if the clerk had accidentally written down this difference as 5 choenices and added it to the 34½ μ. art.) On deduction of 34½ art. from 2072½ art. 8 ch., both on the *μέτρ(ρω)* standard, the remainder should be 2037½ art. 8 ch., but this is rounded off (l. 65) to 2038 art., which is then converted into 2343½ art. 8 ch. on the *cancellus* standard, and to this are added the artabae originally paid in that measure, 901½ art. 4 ch., giving a total of 3245½ *canc.*-art. 2 ch., which is correct.

σὺν ῥ(οπή): some of the rent in cash was paid in *solidi σὺν ῥοπή*, some in *solidi ἐκτὸς ῥοπή*. For *ῥοπή* see West and Johnson, *Currency*, p. 133. Their explanation, that *ῥοπή* was a charge for weighing the coins, is much more plausible than that of Preisigke, *WB.*, that it is for 'Sofortzahlung'. The usual charge was ½ carat per *solidus*. The carats deducted from payments have no relation to the *ῥοπή*.

63 *Καρ(υ)οφύλ(άκων)*: for the word *καρυοφύλαξ* Preisigke, *WB.*, Abschn. 8, refers to P.S.I. iv. 297, 19, but the word there is presumably *καρυόφυλλον*. Possibly guards were placed over the nut orchards. This seems likelier than *Καροφύλ(άκων)* as a military unit (elsewhere unattested), perhaps analogous to the *Ἀραβοτοξόται*.

74 Here begins the account of expenditure. For these payments to churches cf. 1910 3 f., 1911 72 ff., 1912 116 ff., 2024 5 ff., 2195 86 ff., 2196 10.

82 *ἀντικαταλλαγῆς*: cf. 1917 48, 50, 90. This item would appear to refer to a repayment of the amount of taxes paid on land which had changed hands by a contract of exchange after payment of the *δημόσια*. *τῶ[ν] ἀπὸ διαφ(έρων)* may mean 'with persons from various places'; but the brevity of the entry makes the interpretation uncertain. *π(αρά)* at the end is extremely indistinct and may be an illusory reading.

84 *θρυκοκπ(έως)*: *θρυκοκπέω* and *θρυκοκπία* are known, but *θρυκοκπέως* appears to be a new word.

85 This is apparently the end of the account, for the lower part of this column is blank.

86-8 Cf. 2196 1-6, a very similar prescript. The analogy of that document suggests that this may have been intended as the beginning of a separate account, but whereas in 2196 a summary statement of receipts follows, and is followed in turn by a statement of certain payments, here there is no statement of the *λήμματα* and the disbursements are preceded by the word *ἔδωθη*, not *ἀνηλώθη*. Hence it is perhaps best, especially as col. I has no heading (see introduction), to conclude that ll. 86-8 refer to the account on the recto, and that what follows is two (later?) notes on the disposal of some portion of the receipts. Phatement is, however, not mentioned on the recto.

For Flavia Praejecta see 1829 24 n., 2196 intr. In the latter document, l. 1, *Ῥπατίας* is to be corrected to *ὑπατίσση*, or (since *η* cannot be read here) *ὑπατίσση(α)* (*ὑπατίσση*, however, occurs in a papyrus seen by the present writer at Brussels). Praejecta was *ὑπάτισσα* as widow of a *ὑπατος*.

89 *χ[ρ]ῆ[σ]ῶν*: after this very likely *καὶ ὑποδέκτης*; cf. 1919 6, 9, 10.

91 The cross, not the year sign, precedes the date.

93 *χαρτ(ουλαρίου) τῆς Κυνῶν*: we may probably conclude that the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite estates of the family, which were combined in the general administration (Hardy, *Large Estates*, pp. 84-5), had separate *chartularii*.

2243 (b). LIST OF DEEDS.

6th cent. A.D.

These entries are written on the back of col. I of the preceding account, in a hand different from either that of the recto or that of ll. 86-95. Whether l. 1 was originally the first line it is impossible to say. The document is a list of legal deeds of the Apion family, but is too brief and too unsystematic to be regarded as in the proper sense an inventory. What we have is probably a number of jottings, put down here for some special purpose. Each item is separated by spaces from that before and that after it.

1 [.....]. (καὶ) τῶν ..χ(ω).[

Space of 4 cm.

2 [δ]μολογία [...]. λόγ(ω) τῶν ἀπὸ Ἐπισήμου. ἴσον δμολογία(ς) γεναμέν(ης) [μεταξ(ὺ) τοῦ]

3 ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκ(ου) τῆς Κυνῶν καὶ τοῦ οἴκ(ου) Ἰωαννακίου (καὶ) ἄλλ(ων). ἴσον δ(ιὰ) Μαρτυρ(ίου) Δωροθέου.

4 γνῶσι(ς) χρυσί(ου) τῶν λαμπρ(οτάτων) ἀργυροπρατ(ῶν). μίσθ(ωσις).

5 ἀπόδειξι(ς) τοῦ Κουρίου σ(). δμολογία καταθ(έσεως) Στεφάνου δ(ιὰ) ..ασ[.....]

6λαγα(). ἴσον πράξ(εως). πρᾶσις Ἀμμωνίου γραμματοφύ[λακος].

7 μίσθ(ωσις) τῶν Διογυσ(ίου) τοῦ ἄρχοντος.ρ[...]. [19 letters]

8 γνῶσι(ς) τ[ῶ]ν πρ[...]. [

9 εσσης καὶ ἀναλωμ(άτων) τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Φοιβάμμω[νος] τραπέζ(ιτου) . [26 letters]

10 λόγ(ω) τῶν ἀπὸ Τακόνα.

2 Ἐπισήμου: well known as belonging to the Apion estates, e.g. 136 16.

ἴσον: ἴσον occurs again in l. 3, and the absence of *ς* after *δμολογία* as here written may suggest that this *ἴσον* refers to the previous entry, but the very definite space makes against that supposition. The *ἴσον δ(ιὰ) Μαρτυρ(ίου) Δωροθέου* may, though no space is left between it and what precedes, be a separate item; or it may be a duplicate of this one made by Martyrius.

4 μίσθ(ωσις): this word, preceded and followed by blank spaces, seems to be a separate item.

5 ἀπόδειξι(ς): if rightly read, probably in the sense of 'receipt'.

Κουρίου: such seems to be the reading, though two letters are doubtful. Is it the same name as *Κούρι* in P. Iand. 37, 3? In the absence of a context it would be rash to extend σ().
καταθ(έσεως): the first sense in *WB.*, 'Abgabe einer Willenserklärung', is the likeliest here. Despite the preceding space the word is presumably to be taken with *δμολογία*.

..ασ[.....]: one naturally thinks of *Ἀνασ[τασίου]*, but though the first letter might be *α* (better *ο*) the second looks more like *λ* than *ν*.

6λαγα(): very puzzling, and no plausible reading of the letters at the beginning has suggested itself.

γραμματοφύ[λακος]: the letter before *φ*, though not certain, cannot be *η* (for *γραμματηφόρου*), and both *ο* and *υ* are likely readings. The word does not occur in Preisigke, *WB.*, though *δημόσια*

γραμματοφυλάκια are mentioned in B.G.U. iv. 913, 4 (A.D. 206). Probably the keeper of the estate records.

9 ερσης και ἀναλωμ(άτων): the probable ερσης is quite obscure (hardly the end of ὑπατέσεως for ὑπατίσεως?), and the word following και looks far more like συναλαμς than αναλωμς.

2244. SUPPLY OF AXLES FOR WATER-WHEELS.

31.5 × 109.5 cm.

6th–7th cent.

This is a rather interesting account of axles supplied for the water-wheels installed in the various estates of the Apion family. Receipts from *coloni* for the issue of axles and other 'spare parts' are common (e.g. 1899 and documents cited there, 1900, 1982–91), and there are also frequent references in accounts to the cost of such articles, e.g. 1911 160 ff., 163 ff., etc., from which it would appear that seven years was the normal, or at least a usual, term for the service of an axle; but the present account, so far as it is continuously preserved, is wholly concerned with this subject. The one exception is the detached fragment published at the end of this introduction, which, though in a hand closely similar to that of the main account, if not identical with it, may be from a different roll. On the recto of the roll are five fairly complete columns, with the ends of lines of a preceding column, and a sixth has been added on the verso, but there are a number of small fragments, most of them certainly not from any of the six better preserved columns. On one of the larger ones the seventh indiction occurs three times, and it would be natural to infer that this fragment (which has writing only on the recto) comes from a column following col. V; but that is followed by a blank space much broader than the usual intercolumnar interval, and it is probable that the roll ends there. Hence the order of the entries cannot be strictly chronological. The papyrus, towards the end, is brittle, in places so rotten that it breaks into powder at a touch; the hand is an upright, laterally compressed cursive, written with a thin pen, which gives it a rather spidery effect. It seems to date from the late sixth or early seventh century. The heading being lost, the identification of the estates concerned with those of the Apion family rests on the place-names found in the account, which are amply sufficient to establish the connexion.

Each entry consists of (1) the name of the γεωργός to whom the axle was issued, (2) the village or other locality from which he came, (3) the μηχανή which he served, (4) the number of axles (in every case except l. 88, where the same person was responsible for two water-wheels, one only). In addition, the date of issue (various months in the sixth and, in a few cases, seventh, indictions) is most often, though not invariably, noted; and several times the source of supply is indicated. These indications are as follows: ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων νῦν (ll. 14 n., 15 n., 24, &c.); ἀπὸ (or ἐκ) τῶν ἐνεχθέντων (l. 60, νῦν) ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας (ll. 17, where ἐξ ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ κόμητος Σερήνου follows, 18 f., &c.), ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας (ll. 1–2 n., 83, etc.), ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων with a date (l. 44). Once an explanatory note is added (l. 35): οὐκ ἔχει παλαιόν. The μηχαναί

are usually those irrigating the fields named after them, but in l. 45 f. we read of an axle εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς μηχαν(ανῆς) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) λ[ο]υ[τ]ρ[ο]σῶ. Many of the axles are described as χειρ(); see l. 2 n. The account is divided into sections according to the διοίκησις or μερίς under which the μηχαναί fall.

At the end of this introduction may conveniently be published the one fragment, already referred to, which does not belong to the main account and may come from another roll:

(ὑπέρ) [λόγ(ου)] ὀψωνίου τῶν τ[α]πιδαρ(ίων)·
οἴν(ου) δι(πλά), δχ ἐξ ὄν ὑπέρ
Φιλοξένω ἀπὸ μείζ(όνων) δι(πλά) λς
(ὑπέρ) Φιλοξένου Παλιλίου δι(πλά) λς
5 (ὑπέρ) Γεωργίου Κοῦρι δι(πλά) ιβ
Εὐφημία Κολλούθου μαγίρ(ου) δι(πλά) ιβ
[[ὑπέρ] τῶν τέκν(ων) Μηνά Ἄρσ() δι(πλά) κε
[.....?βο]ηλάτη δι(πλά) λς
]τ() δ[ι](πλά) λς

1 l. ταπηταρίων 2 ὑπέρ 3 l. Φιλοξένου 6 l. μαγείρου

Col. II

- 1]χ
2 Ἰοῦς υἱῶ I[...]. τρου ἀπ[ὸ] ἐ[π]οικ(ίου) Μεγάλ(ης) Παρορίου (γεωργ(ῶ)) μηχαν(ανῆς)
καλουμ(ένης) Μερπίου χειρ() ἄξ(ων) α
3 Ἰουλί[ω] υἱ[ῶ] Ἀκρί[ά]ττωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Λεωνίδου γεωργ(ῶ) μηχαν(ανῆς) καλο[ο]υ-
μ(ένης) γηδίου Εὐλογίου χειρ() ἄξ(ων) α
4 Ἄπα Ὀρω υἱῶ Παύλου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Νεκάνθεως γεωργ(ῶ) μηχαν(ανῆς) καλου-
μ(ένης) Φήνκε χειρ() ἄξ(ων) α
5 Βίκτωρι υἱῶ Ἀνοῦπ ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Λεωνίδου γεωργ(ῶ) μηχαν(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης)
Κυλλῆς τοῦ
6 δικαίου τυγχάνουσαν Ἡρακλείας χειρ() ἄξ(ων) α
7 Ἀπφοῦτι υἱῶ Παησιῶ ἀπ[ὸ] κώμ(ης) Μερμέρθων γεωργ(ῶ) μηχαν(ανῆς) καλου-
μ(ένης)
8 Βελαρίνου τοῦ δικαίου Πέρα Μερμέρθων τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) χειρ() ἄξ(ων) α
9 Παμουθίω υἱῶ Παύλου μητρὸς Ἄννας ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Κυαμῶνος γεωργ(ῶ) μηχαν(ανῆς)
10 καλουμ(ένης) Τρ' ἴγκε. [.]ίου Ὡθ κδ ἰνδ(ικτ.) 5 χειρ() ἄξ(ων) α
11 Φοιβάμμωνι υἱῶ Ἰωά[ννο]υ ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Στεφανίωνος γεωργ(ῶ) μηχαν(ανῆς)
καλουμ(ένης)

- 12 Κρονῆς Τ[οῦ] Ποτα[μ]οῦ Θῶθ κθ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς χειρ() ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 13 Πραοῦτι Ἰσακ[ί]ο]ν ἀπὸ Λεωνίδου γεωρ(γῶ) τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) κ[α]λουμ(ένης) Τῶν Χωρ(ίων) Σαλιούτος χειρ() ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 14 Βείκτορι υἱῶ Πισρ[α]ῆλ ἀπὸ Νίκης γεωρ(γῶ) τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Τῶν [.]εφίων Ἀθῦρ κζ ς ἰνδ(ικτ.) ἄξ(ων) α
- 15 Φοιβάμμωνι τ[ῶ] κα]ῖ [.]ω υἱῶ Πεκυσίου ἀπὸ Ἀσπιδ[ᾶ] γ]εωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Λιβικ(ῆς) Ἀθῦρ κζ ἄξ(ων) [α]
- 16 Θεῶνι υἱ[ῶ]]ρος ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Νίκης γεωρ(γῶ) τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Ἐπτααρουρίας Χοιάκ ι [ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς]
- 17 [ἀπὸ τ]ῶν ἐνεχθέντων ἀπὸ [Α]λεξ[α]νδρ(είας) ἐξ ἐπιτροπ(ῆς) τοῦ κόμμετ(ος) Σερήνου ἄξ(ον) α
- 18 [. ἀ]πὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Μεγάλ(ης) Παρορίου γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Κυλλῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων
- 19 [] ἀπ' Ἀλεξ[α]νδρ(είας) Τῦβι ιε ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) α
- 20 [. ἀ]πὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ἀπ[ε]λ(λή) γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλ[ου]μ(ένης) γηγῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων
- 21 [ἀπ' Ἀλεξ(ανδρ(είας)) Ἀθῦρ κγ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) α
- 22 [. Σ]τεφαν[ι]ωνος Τῦβι ιζ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) [α]
- 23 [.]κοτι γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Πισ[.] Τῦβ]ι ιθ ς ἰνδ(ικτ.) ἄξ(ων) [α]
- 24 [.]Τοὲ εἰς τὴν μηχ(ανῆν) Ταπ[.] [.]ε τῶν ἐνεχθέντων νῦν Τ[ῦ]βι [.] ς ἰνδ(ικτ.) ἄξ(ων) α
- 25 [.]ωαπι γεωρ(γοῖς) ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Λε[ων]ίδου μ]μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Κυλλῆς βορι[ν]ῆς
- 26 [τοῦ δικαίου]αρίωνος Μεχειρ λ ἰνδ(ικτ.) [ς] ἄξ(ων) [α]

3 υἱῶ; so too ll. 14, 15, 16 4 υἱῶ 5 ανουπ' 6 l. τυγχάνοντος 7 απο a correction, perhaps from περα (cf. l. 8) 14 l. Βίκτορι 17 l. ἄξων 25 γεωρρ/

Col. III

- 27 Διοίκησις τοῦ βοη[θ]οῦ] Πετρωνίου
- 28 Ἰωάννη υἱῶ Ἑλλάτος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Καλωρίας γεωρ(γῶ) μη[χ](ανῆς) Τῶν Χωρ(ίων) χειρ() [ἄ]ξων α
- 29 Παμουθίω υἱῶ Ἀπολλῶτος ἀπ[ὸ] ἐποικ(ίου) Ἰππέου γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Ἀγροικικοῖς
- 30 δικαίου Μεγάλ(ης) Καλάβης Φαῶφ(ι) δ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς χειρ() ἄξ(ων) ᾱ

- 31 Φιλέα υἱῶ Λαμάσωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ματρέου γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) Τῶν Χωρ(ίων) Φαῶφι η ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) α
- 32 Κελοῦχ υἱῶ Ἰακῶβ ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Μεγάλ(ης) Καλύβης γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Παπάρ
- 33 Θῶθ λ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς χειρ() ἄξ(ων) α
- 34 Ἰωάννη υἱῶ Παλεοῦτος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Λέοντος γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) τοῦ νέου λάκκου
- 35 καλουμ(ένης) Λιμενίου Φαῶφι ιγ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς χειρ() ἄξ[ων] α· οὐκ ἔχει παλαι(όν)
- 36 Ἀβρααμίω υἱῶ Παγετίου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Θαήσιος γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Πάμπλου Φαῶφι ιη ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 37 Ἰωσήφ υἱῶ Φοιβάμ[μ]ωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Παγγουλείου γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Κυλλῆς
- 38 Βασιλικῆς Φαῶφι κθ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς αὔξ(ων) ᾱ
- 39 Παμβηχίω υἱῶ Ἀνουθί[ο]ν καταμειν() τοῦ βοηθ(οῦ) Πετρωνίου μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Θεωνᾶ Ἀθῦρ ε [ι]νδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 40 Δανιῆλ υἱῶ Σερήμ[ο]υ ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Τρῆνε γεωρ(γῶ) μη[χ](ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Φανέρω Ἀθῦρ ς ι[ν]δ(ικτ.) ε ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 41 Ἰωάννη υἱῶ Φο[ι]βάμμωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Παγγου[λε]ίου γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Τεκῶν Τῦβι κε ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς
- 42 ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρ(είας) ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 43 Φοιβάμμωνι υἱῶ Λαμάσωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Παγγουλείου γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Μικροῦ Φιβμετέβτε
- 44 ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων Μεχειρ [.] ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) α
- 45 Ἰωσήφ φρ(οντιστή) καὶ Ἰωσήφ περιχύτη τοῦ λουτροῦ ἐποικ(ίου) Παγγουλείου εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ)
- 46 λ[ο]υ[τ]ρ(οῦ) μνην Θῶθ α ἰνδ(ικτ.) ζ ἄξ(ων) α

28 υἱῶ αξων f, as if αξς had been intended 29 ιπ'πεου 37 παγγουλειου; so too ll. 41, 43, 45

Col. IV

- 47 Μερ(ίς) το[ῦ] βοηθ(οῦ) Ἰωσήφ
- 48 Μηνᾶ υἱῶ Ἀβρααμίου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ἐξκαυδεκααρουρ(ί)ας γεωρ(γῶ) μ[η]χ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Τανάει
- 49 Φ[α]ῶφι ιγ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς χειρ() ἄξ(ων) α
- 50 Ἀπολλῶ υἱῶ Παμβηχίου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Σκέλους γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης)

- 51 Πατάτος Φαῶφι γυ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς χειρ() ἄξ(ων) α
 52 Ἀνουθίω τέκ(τον) υἱῶ Παύλου καὶ Ἰσάκ υἱῶ Ἀβρααμίου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Κύριλλα
 γεωρ(γοῖς) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης)
 53 Νο[τ]μη[ς] τοῦ Κτήματ(ος) Φαῶφι ιδ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς χειρ() ἄξ(ων) α
 54 Φοιβάμμωνι υἱῶ Ἀνουθίου ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Ὠφείως γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλου-
 μ(ένης) Θρυείτιδος Φαῶφι ιε ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) α
 55 Πραούτι υἱῶ Παμβηχίου ἀπὸ Κολόξου γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Μελάνου
 Ἀθῦρ δ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) α
 56 Φοιβάμμωνι τῶ καὶ Πατεύω υἱῶ Παύλου ἀπὸ Φάκρα γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλου-
 μ(ένης) Πλεεῦν Ἀθῦρ κη ς ἰνδ(ικτ.) ἄξ(ων) α ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθ(έντων) νῦν
 57 Λαμάσωνι υἱῶ Καλάμμωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ὁξυρύνχο[v] γεωρ(γῶ) τῆς μηχ(ανῆς)
 καλουμ(ένης) Πετνήτος
 58 δικαίου τοῦ κτήμ[α]τος Κηγᾶ ἐπὶ μηνὶ Χοιᾶκ ια ἕ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ἐκ τῶν (ἐν)εχθ(έντων)
 νῦν ἄξ(ων) α
 59 Λαμάσωνι υἱῶ Παύλου ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Ταμπετὶ γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) Ματρίνου
 60 ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθ(έντων) νῦν ἀπ' Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) Χοιᾶκ κγ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) α
 61 Ἀφφουᾶ φρ(οντιστῆ) υἱῶ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Σκέλους γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς)
 καλουμ(ένης) Τῶν Χωρ(ίων) ἀπὸ τῶν
 62 ἐνεχθ(έντων) ἀπ' Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) Τῦβι ι ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) α
 63 Μουσαίω υἱῶ Παμβηχίου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Νικήτου γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλ[ο]υ-
 μ(ένης) Κουῆς Μεχείρ κς ἕ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ἄξ(ων) α

54 l. Θρυείτιδος 56 νῦν 62 ν of υδ/ written over ς 63 Apparently a later addition
 (in different ink). αξους; l. ἄξων

Col. V

- 64 [Δ]ιοίκησι[ς] τῶν ὑ[π]ὸ τὸν ἐγτολέα Τ[ο]ῦ ἐπὶ τ[ῆ]ς ς ἰνδ(ικτ.)
 65 εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς μεγάλ(ης) μηχ(ανῆς) Παρὰ Ποταμ(όν) δι(ὰ) Πετρωνίου καταμειν()
 τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Σχολαστικοῦ
 66 ἐπὶ μηνὶ Θῶθ κα ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) α
 67 εἰς τὴν μηχ(ανῆν) καλουμ(ένην) Τῆς Πύλης ὑπὸ Ἰωσήφ υἱὸν Παύλου ἀπὸ Μύρμκος
 68 ἐπὶ μηνὶ Θῶθ κα ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἀρχ(ῆ) ζ ἄξ(ων) α
 69 εἰς τὴν μηχ(ανῆν) καλουμ(ένην) Κωνῆς ὑπὸ Ἰούλιον υἱὸν Ἀπολλῶτος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου)
 70 Μύρμκος ἄξ(ων) α
 71 εἰς τὴν μηχ(ανῆν) καλουμ(ένην) Τιχάλι'κος' ὑπὸ Ἰωάννην υἱὸν Τοχᾶν ἀπὸ
 72 τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) κτήμ(ατος) ἄξ(ων) α

- 73 εἰς τὴν μηχ(ανῆν) καλουμ(ένην) Πάλα ἦτοι τῆς Συκαμινέας ὑπὸ Φίβ [v]ιδὸν Φιλο-
 ξένου ἀπὸ
 74 ἐποικ(ίου) Μύρμκος ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθ(έντων) ἀπ' Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) Τῦβι ιθ
 ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) α
 Space of 4.5 cm.
 75 Διοίκησις(ς) τοῦ βοηθ(οῦ) Ἰσίωνος
 76 Ἀπολλῶ πρεσβυτέρ(ω) υἱῶ Φιλήμμωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ἀμπατᾶ γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς)
 καλουμ(ένης) Τοῦ Κτήμ(ατος)
 77 Τῦβι ιθ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) α
 78 Ἰωάννη φρ(οντιστῆ) καὶ Ἀνοῦπ υἱῶ Ἀνουθίου καὶ Φοιβάμμωνι υἱῶ Ὠρου καὶ
 Ἀδάμ υἱῶ Ἀφφουᾶ
 79 ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ταρουσεβτ γεωρ(γοῖς) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Τοῦ Χωρίου μηνὶ
 Φαρμουῦθι κα ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) α
 67 l. Μύρμκος; so too ll. 70, 74 69 l. Κωνῆν 76 γ of γεωρ/ rewritten or a correction
 (from απ?) 78 ανουπ' 79 ταρουσεβτ'

On the Verso of Cols. IV and V: Col. VI

- 80 Διοίκησις(ς) τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Ἰερημί[ου] ἐπὶ [τῆ]ς ς [ἰ]νδ(ικτ.) κατασπο[ρ](ᾶς) ζ"
 81 Παμουθίω μείζωνι κώμης Τ[αμ]πετὶ εἰς[ς] χρεῖαν τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Τερῶτ
 τοῦ νέου λάκκου
 82 ἐν ἐδάφ(ει) Φανχόχ τοῦ β[ο]ρ[ρ]ιν[ο]ῦ κυκλευτηρίου ἀ[ν]τλοῦντ(ος) εἰς τὰ νεόφυτα
 χωρία
 83 δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Ταμπετὶ μηνὶ Μεσορ[ῆ] ις ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἀρχ(ῆ) ζ ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλη-
 σί(ας) ἄξ(ων) α
 84 Παμουθίω μείζ(ονι) ὁμοί(ως) ἀπὸ Ταμπετὶ εἰς χ[ρ]εῖαν τῆς νοτινῆς μηχ(ανῆς) ἐν
 ἐδάφ(ει) Φανχόχ
 85 ἀντλούσ(ης) εἰς νεόφυτα χωρ(ία) δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Ταμπετὶ Μεσορῆ ις ἰνδ(ικτ.) ζ
 ἐκ (τῶν) τῆς ἐκκλησί(ας) ἄξ(ων) α
 86 Τονᾶν μείζ(ονι) ἀπὸ Ταμπέμου εἰς χρεῖαν τῶν δύο κυκλευτηρ(ίων)
 87 τοῦ νέου λάκκου(ου) τοῦ βληθ(έντος) εἰς τὰ νεόφυτα χωρ(ία) ἐν κώμ(ῆ) Ταμπέμου
 88 Μεσορῆ κς ἰνδ(ικτ.) ς ἄξ(ονες) β
 89 Ἀπολλῶ διακόν(ω) καὶ Ἰωσήφ Ἰωάννου γεωρ(γοῖς) ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Τακόνα εἰς
 χρεῖαν τῆς μηχ(ανῆς)
 90 καλουμ(ένης) Μαρίας Θῶθ κη ἰνδ(ικτ.) ζ ἄξ(ων) α

81 l. μείζονι

1-2 In the right margin, opposite these lines and evidently an addition, perhaps intended to follow l. 2, is the following entry: [PΧαι]ρέα υἱῷ Ἰσᾶκ ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Πιάα [γεωργ(γῶ) | μη]χ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) τοῦ Πιάα Μεσορή α ἠδ(ικτ.) ζ [(probably blank) |] ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησι(ας) αἶξ(ων) α.

1]χ: this cannot be the end of a half-line, like (e.g.) l. 6, and it seems too near the left of the column to be the end of such a heading as occurs in ll. 27, 47, &c. Very possibly it is not the letter χ but simply a mark of revision or something similar.

2 χειρ(): without an analogy it is hazardous to extend this. The meaning would seem to be 'worked by hand'. In χειραγώγιμος or χειριστικός this would be an unexpected variation on the usual sense; χειρουργικός or χειρωνακτικός are more appropriate.

3 Ἀκρί[α]τῶνος: one instance of this name (more commonly Ἀγνάτων) is recorded in the *Namenbuch*. The first letter, which is imperfect, might perhaps also be read as ε, but neither Ἐγνάτων nor Ἐκνάτων seems to be recorded, and the trace above the line which suggests the top of an enlarged epsilon may be the bottom of a long downstroke in l. 2.

5 Κυλλῆς: cf. P. Iand. 63. 3, μηχ(ανῆς) Κυλλ(ῆς), 1892 30, ἐν μηχ[α]νῆ καλουμένη κυλλῆς διω...σι; also P. Lond. iii, p. 278, 776, 10, (χρείας καὶ νῦν γεναμένης) κυλλῆς κυκλάδος as a part of a μηχανή. L. and S., s.v. κυλλός, take the word in the last case as an adjective qualifying κυκλάς, but it is possibly better, with Preisigke, *WB.*, s.v. κυλλή, to understand it as a noun followed by a genitive, κυλλή κυκλάδος, i.e. part of a κυκλάς. Here at all events, as in P. Iand. 63, it is used absolutely, as a name, and that is probably the case in 1892, where the following word cannot be read as διάρυγος. In l. 37 f. is a μηχανή called Κυλλή Βασιλική.

6 δικαίου: cf. ll. 8, 26, 30, 58. The sense appears to be that the μηχανή for administrative purposes was included in the estate named. A partial analogy is B.G.U. i. 303, 9 (cf. B.G.U. 364, 8), ἀπὸ το(ῦ) δικαίου(ν) τῆς διαφερούσης[ς] αἰῶν[τῆ] οὐσίας.

8 Πέρα κτλ.: apparently a property adjoining Mermertha but forming, administratively, a separate estate.

10 Τρ'ύγκε[.]ίου: the letter after ε might equally well be μ or ι.

12 Κρωῆς: such is the probable reading here; cf. l. 63 and 2197 184. On the other hand, Κρωῆς is the best reading in l. 69; cf. 2197 6, 207. The one is presumably a machine serving more than one field, the other one which was, or had been when it received the name, recently installed.

13 τῆς: though this must be the right reading the last letter is much more like γ than σ.

14 Τῶν [.]εφίων: a clear upstroke, suggesting the top of ε, above the lacuna makes it impossible to read [χω]ρίων, but the φ is uncertain; ρ is not indicated. In the intercolumnar space, opposite this line, has been added, probably in the same hand, ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθ(έντων) νῦν; cf. l. 24, &c.

15 τ[φ] κα[.]ι [.]ω: τ[φ]ω is perhaps just possible, but ωρ would be much cramped. Opposite this line between the columns, as in l. 14, ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθ(έντων) νῦν.

16 The / of ωδ/ is visible, unless indeed it is the bottom of σ.

17 Probably an indented line, nothing having been written before ἀπὸ κτλ. Similar entries in ll. 18 f., 20 f., &c.

19 Cf. l. 17 n.

23]κοσι: the supposed ι might well be an apostrophe, and the trace read as the end of the upper diagonal stroke of κ might be ε. Hence T]ε[π]ωτ' is a not impossible reading; Τεπωτ occurs at Aphrodito as the (no doubt originally personal) name of a τόπος (P. Lond. iv. 1419, 234, &c.), and at Oxyrhynchus we have (2195 170, 2243 (a) 48) a μηχανή Τεπότ. Cf. ll. 25 n., 78 n.

24 Ταπ[.]ι: Ταμπ[ε]τ[ι] does not seem possible, and π might be τ.

25]ωπι: here again for απι one might read απ'.

26]αρίωνος: Ὠρίωνος is equally possible. If α is right Βησ[α]ρίωνος is not unlikely.

30 Μεγάλης) Καλάβης: cf. l. 32, where the name appears as Καλύβης, and 2197 34, 37, where Καλύβης occurs without Μεγάλης. The α here and the ν in l. 32 are certain. In 2031 18, 2055 40 also the form with ν is found.

35 οὐκ ἔχει παλαι(όν): evidently the μηχανή was just being installed, and an axle had not previously been supplied.

38 αἶξ(ων): the only place in the account where this variant form occurs.

39 καταμειν(): cf. 2243 (a) 18 n. See also l. 65.

48 Ἐξκαίδεκαρουρ(ί)ας: perhaps better taken as one word, like Ἐπταρουρίας in l. 16, than as two, Ἐξκαίδεκα ἀρούρας.

Τανάει: after this is what looks like a large β, but it is very faint and has perhaps been washed out.

49 Here again there are faint traces of ink in the earlier part of the line before Φ[α]φφι, and it seems likely that a previous line has been washed out.

51 Πατᾶτος: the second τ looks more like γ, but a similar τ occurs elsewhere (e.g. in Πατεύω, l. 56, where also it follows α).

53 Νο[τ]μη[σ] του Κτήματ(ος): all part of the name: 'Southern Water-Wheel of the Estate'.

58 Κηνᾶ: cf. 1915 11, 19, ἀπὸ Κιέας. But the first letter, of which only the bottom remains, might well be ζ (Ζηνᾶ).

63 Κωῆς: cf. l. 12 n.

64 Owing to a breaking of the edge ι and part of ο at the beginning, read without question by Miss Wegener, are now lost.

ἐγτολέα: here evidently a title of an official of the estate, much like διοικητής. Since normally it means (cf. P. Mon. 14, 71 n.) a legal representative it is probably used here as indicating the representative of the γεοῦχος, in charge of Τοῦ.

73 Συκαμνέας: Συκαμνέως could also be read, but συκαμνέα, 'mulberry-tree', is the more likely form; it occurs as συκαμνέας in P. Grenf. ii. 98, 2 (where also the α is marked as doubtful; if συκαμνέως is the better reading there it might seem best to suppose a variant form συκαμνίς).

78 Ἄνοσπ: since this name usually appears as Ἄνοσπ without inflexion, it is likely that the apostrophe here (cf. l. 5) is not meant as a sign of abbreviation but as that which often (e.g. l. 79, Ταρουσέβτ) marks the end of an indeclinable word; cf. ll. 23 n., 25 n.

80 Owing to the breaking of the upper edge, this part of the roll being extremely brittle, some letters read by Miss Wegener have since disappeared. The letters here dotted in Ἰερημ[ι]ου were apparently imperfect even then, since in her copy she inserted them only in pencil; the others were not marked by her as doubtful. The only letter in the word now visible is ρ(?).

82 Φανχόχ: this ἔδαφος is referred to also in one of the fragments: εἰς τ]ὸν λάκκ(ον) ἐν ἐδάφ(ει) Φανχόχ.

83 τῆς ἐκκλησι(ας): cf. ll. 1-2 n.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PIECES
PUBLISHED IN VOL. XIX.

2212. FR. 2, 4, 5. Following up an inquiry of Professor Pfeiffer's I find that I can locate fr. 5 vertically below the right-hand side of fr. 4(a) and horizontally opposite fr. 2, 3 seqq. The only external indication regarding the vertical distance of fr. 5 from fr. 4 is the negative one that the top of fr. 2 stands clear of the bottom of fr. 4. There is no external evidence about the horizontal distance of fr. 5 from fr. 2.

The text must now be represented as follows :

]επεσοφ[]..[[.ε'νοονδ]εφ[ρ]α[α]κατο[α]ει[ο'] [πατρι]διμαιομενης[]υ[]η'μουν[]ωλ[]ναρ[[υτακαιο]ιμιληγονενα[ι] [αρτεμ]ιδος[].η'δ.[.]α[λλας]υτη[μοσ]]νετ[α]μ[εσ'] κτλ.
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The letters between half-brackets are contributed by 2213.

FR. 21 and 27 are linked by a new fragment in such a way that after fr. 27, 1-3 as printed there follow, ll. 4 seqq.:

5] αυφαδομ.[] οφθαλμουα[] ωσεχ'επωφ.[]ηπ[4 .[, ο or ω 6 .[, an upright farther than the normal interval from φ
--	--

2213. FR. 10. I now think it not unlikely that this fragment should be placed so as to continue fr. 8(c) downwards. There may, in fact, though I see no way of determining the truth, be no more than one verse lost between them.

Further, I believe that the two following fragments may be supposed to come from the same neighbourhood as fr. 10 and 8(c) though I cannot bring

them into any precise relation. The appearance of fr. 22 very much resembles that of fr. 8(c) and that of fr. 23 that of fr. 10.

Fr. 22.

. . .
]. . . [.
]κατη[.
].ις [.
]εσθαι[.
] [.
] [.

Fr. 23.

. . .
]. [.
].δο[.
]ο[.
]ετ[.
5] .π[.
]τ[.

FR. 22 Apparently the bottom of a column.

2 .[, an upright with traces of a horizontal stroke to left of its top

FR. 23 If the beginnings of lines, as the blank space on the left of ll. 4-6 seems to indicate, the first letter of l. 2 projected slightly into the left-hand margin.

1 The middle part of a stroke descending from left to right, e.g. the right-hand stroke of δ 2], perhaps elements of the right-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 24.

. . .
] ανερ[.
] ηρ[.
] οι[.
] ..[.

Fr. 25.

. . .
] [.
] —[.
κ
] —[.
] [.

FR. 24

3 Rubbed 4 Rubbed; the traces may be combined to give ε or υ followed by γ or π and in other ways

FR. 25 I am fairly confident that this scrap stood in the region of the right-hand edge of fr. 1 and incline to think that it may be attached opposite the ends of ll. 5-10. The stichometrical figure κ ('v. 1000'), which refers to the column lost on its right, attests a minimum of a thousand lines in this (the third?) book of the *Atria*. I believe there is no other direct evidence about the length of any book of the work

2216. The following fragments appear to be in the same hand as the larger piece published on pp. 41 seqq. The first may well come from its immediate neigh-

bourhood, the second is stained a dark colour and has no special resemblance to them apart from the writing.

Fr. 2 r.

].[].....[
]μενενις.[
].[

Fr. 2 r.

1 The last letter but one would be taken for μ (represented by the right-hand upright and half the curved cross-stroke), the last for δ or ζ (represented by the lower left-hand angle), an impossible collocation. The first of this group is represented by the lower part of an upright descending a little below the line 2 .[, π not verifiable

Fr. 2 v.

].[
].ω.[]..[
].....[

Fr. 2 v.

2],, apparently the tip of an upright with an acute over].[, perhaps the lower loop of β and parts of the left-hand arm and the upright of ν 3].[, prima facie, the upright and the lower arm of κ followed at an interval by an upright with traces of ink to its right. It might be more correct to write]κ[.][Perhaps].πϵθ.[as likely as anything, but this does not account for some ink like a shallow circumflex above ϵθ

Fr. 3 r.

. . .
].σν...[
]δεν.[

Fr. 3 r.

1],, the upper part of an upright After ν the traces may be combined to give αλ or αχ, but I am dubious of both 2 .[, perhaps α but there are only faint shadows

Fr. 3 v.

. . .
]χενουτο[
]μουαη[

2220. A new scrap has been attached to fr. 10 giving as ll. 5-6

. . .
]αροτ[ρ]ον[
]οσεχ[.]νε[

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PIECES PUBLISHED IN PREVIOUS VOLUMES

Vol. xvii. 2079 see vol. xviii 2167 below

2080 (Callimachus, *Ait.* β)

Vol. xviii. 2167 (Callimachus, *Ait.* α)

2171 (Callimachus, *Ephodes*)

2174 (Hipponax, *Scazons*)

2175 (Hipponax, *Scazons*)

2176 (Commentary on Hipponax, ? *Ephodes*)

2079. See 2167 below.

2080 (Callimachus, *Ait.* β). A new fragment has been placed opposite the right-hand edge of col. i 18 seq.

. . .
].αλλ[.]με[
. . .
].ε.ην[
20 . . .
]....[

In l. 20 I am doubtful how to combine the traces. Of the first letter there is only a dot. Next comes what might be taken as μ but is perhaps more probably αι or λι, since it seems to be followed by γ (not π). After this there is a dot or very short stroke descending left to right level with the tops of the letters and finally the upper part of an upright.

2167 2079 (Callimachus, *Ait.* α) fr. 2. Another scrap has been fixed before the upper part of col. i, which now runs:

. . .
].νλ[
].ναι []
].κατεκολλη[]
].εγαλαι [] []
5].νης.[] []
].εος[] []
].ο.[]].λασσαι []
].τατελε[] ου []
].εσσειμον[.]αποκολλου κτλ.

4 What I have taken for the top of ι might be read as a high stop 5 .[, the left-hand arc of a circle 6]ε, I cannot rule out θ 7],, before λ apparently the tail of a stroke descending from left but ending too high for α; not prima facie ε 8 I call attention to the resemblance of this verse to that added in the lower margin of P.S.I. 1217 B fr. 2. If it is not illusory, λόφου ends the line, but I can get no farther.

fr. 3. A fragment has been attached to the upper left-hand side, revealing that this is the top of the column. Ll. 1-6 must now be read as follows:

]τε.τ[]νδαριδαί
].μνης[]εδιαπρωτονίκ[.]ντο
].αλλουσητεα.α[.]ανατου
]σητηρασευσειρ[...].ελέ[.]ο[.]·
 5]αζωνόνκέαραϊconiδη
]ταζεν κτλ.

1 Of τ[only the left-hand end of the cross-stroke, which is below the usual level, but no other letter seems as likely. Of the preceding letter only two dots about level with the tops of the letters remain. 2], the lower end of a stroke descending from left. Of ε[only the left-hand arc. 3], a dot on the line. τεε I have turned over a fibre and ε is now certain. What is to be made of ητεα., I do not know; nothing but ἦτασαν occurs to me.

fr. 6. I have assigned the following fragment the number following the last in 2167 but I believe, though I am not certain, that it may continue 2079 fr. 2 ii downwards and even that the first visible ink in the first verse of the new fragment may stand immediately next to the last in the last verse of the old.

<p> . . .]. . .]ειροπολ[].μο.].βλυγ[5]εειην[</p>	<p>(54) ἀλλα τι. . . χ]εῖρ Πιολ[υδευκείη ...].μο. ἀ]μβλυν[εῖρ]εείην[</p>
--	---

1 There are traces to left and right of an upright of which the foot turns slightly to right, e.g. τιτ[. 2 Callim. fr. 496. 3], the foot of an upright. 5 εῖρ] suggested by the space, if the previous supplements are right. But it is worth while to keep in mind the possibility of τ(ε)ιρ]εείην[, with which ἀμβλύν would be very apt.

Fr. 7.

. . .
].ν.
]ποβ.
]αλι.
].ρε.αεε[
 5]π.οιο.
]κδρη[.
]τρ..δ..
]μητη[
].ην[
 10].
 . . .

1 Before ν an almost horizontal stroke on the line, after it perhaps the left-hand stroke of δ but this does not account for what looks like an acute touching the top of the right-hand upright of ν. 2], traces compatible with α. 3], traces suggesting α or δ. 4], the upper part of an upright. Before α a dot level with the tops of the letters. 5 Or]γ.? Before ο an upright.], the upper part of an upright. 7 Of τ only the right-hand end of the cross-stroke and the foot of the upright; perhaps γ. After ρ the left-hand arc of a circle and scattered traces, perhaps ι, to its right. After δ possibly αβ but the traces may be otherwise combined. 9], two dots compatible with c. 10 Perhaps the upper arm of κ.

2171 (Callimachus, *Epodes*). A new fragment is to be added.

Fr. 11.

. . .
]
]νδέκα χ[
 ιφ[
 . . .

The figure suggests that this scrap comes from the neighbourhood of fr. 2 ii. I have failed to attach it.

2174 (Hipponax). Fr. 3, 5-7 have been identified by E. Diehl as fr. 66 Knox.

The following fragments are to be added. One (fr. 31) was found in time to be facsimiled in vol. xviii.

Fr. 10 + a new fr.

.
 .
 .
]υρρ[
]. οιτξ[
]θαρο.[
]μι.αδ[.π[
 5] .ρῖναφονιξ.[

Fr. 10 2], the lower end of a stroke descending below the line and a trace suggesting the right-hand end of a cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters; perhaps ψ but ρ not ruled out 3], an upright with a trace to left of its top; υ suitable but there are other possibilities

Fr. 16, 16-19 + a new fragment.

7) εγωδεβείνε[]...[
) επάκρονελκ[].αλλᾱ[
 —κλαιεινκελευ[].αλο[
 κ[...]μαντικεξ[...]σενεκδεπ[

The conjunction of (a) and (b) is confirmed.

16]ρεκα[is possible 17 Fr. p. 4 Knox

18 κελευ[- Βου]παλο[ν may be suggested

Fr. 16, 22 + a new fragment.

σφαζειν κτλ.

Fr. 24 + a new fragment. The last 2 vv. must now appear as:

]θενε[.]πιπτο[
]ραιμιδ[.]νβολ[

Fr. 31.

.
 .
] .[
] το.[
 .].].[

Fr. 31 1 The left-hand side of a circle 3]..[, perhaps simply]ε[

Fr. 32.

.
 .
]ων[
]εμμα[
]έκρο[
]εμν.[
 5]ακκογ[
]κειτρο[
].ωρος.[
]..[

Fr. 32 2], traces which suit the top right-hand side of the circle and the tip of the tail of φ The cross-stroke of ε has vanished 3], on the line the foot of an upright with a hook to the right, e.g. π 4], an upright 7], the end of a stroke descending from the left, λ or possibly χ], the left-hand tip of a cross-bar as of τ 8 The top of a round letter followed by traces suiting the tops of the left-hand and middle strokes of ω Above the letter which preceded the first preserved letter two traces of interlinear ink, perhaps an accent and a mark of quantity

Perhaps the beginnings of lines, in which case only one letter is to be supplied before ll. 2-7.
 4 e.g. *ceυ* with a variant *ceo*.

Fr. 33.

.
 .
]...[
]αιρει[
].ησο.[
]νηθ.[
 5]α[

Fr. 33 1 A trace on the line, the base of a circle closely followed by a dot on the line, the bottom left-hand arc of a circle; four letters may be represented 3], a trace on the line], the upper end of a stroke descending to right 4], the upper end of a stroke descending to right 5 α would be more naturally read, but this does not account for a dot of ink on the line below the presumed stop

2175 (Hipponax). Two new fragments are to be added.

Fr. 12.

. . .
]
]ρη
].η[.]εν
]ρσ
]ητη
 5]ντα
].ειτι.
].α
]αα
 . . .

Fr. 12 Perhaps the top of a column.
 2], possibly part of the loop of ρ 6], a trace compatible with the end of the overhang of σ τς. would naturally be read but there is rather a wide interval between τ and σ and after σ there is a small loop which I can neither combine with σ nor read as a separate letter. Possibly the ink after τ represents a marginal addition by a different hand 7], very faint traces compatible with the bottom angle of ν

Fr. 13.

. . .
]μ[
].ιζο[
]κυψαν[
]ν[.]μ.[
 5]ελθορ[
]σπ[
]ωσ...[
]ωντ...[
].υθρονα.[
 . . .

Fr. 13 2], the lower parts of two uprights descending below the line, the second having a dot above and to right; the second letter is probably ρ, the preceding might be another ρ, but there are many other possibilities 4], a dot on the line, perhaps the foot of an upright], at mid-letter level the start of a stroke rising to right 5 Of ν[only the left-hand apex 7 The second letter after σ represented by the lower part of an upright turning out to left 9], the tail of α or λ], the upper left-hand angle of γ or π

Fr. 14.

. . .
]ικα[

2176 (Hipponax commentary). The following further corrections and additions are to be made besides those in vol. xviii Addenda, of which the numeration is continued.

Fr. 9 is to be inserted in fr. 1 i 8-9 so that the ends of the lines run:

ειναικαμναι
 βιωτ[.]ζενηγ

Perhaps τὸς ἐνθήθεις, 'in common parlance simpletons' are called . . .

To fr. 8, 4-7 a new fragment joins giving:

κηρυ
 ανδρ[
 τριταιονγ
 κηρυ κτλ.

The rest I have not been able to attach.

Fr. 19.

. . .
].κάμ[
]ξ.[
 . . .

Fr. 20.

. . .
].λυ[
]...[
 . . .

Fr. 21.

. . .
]κ[
].εσ [
].[
 . . .

Fr. 21 2], the tail of a letter like α touching the bottom of τ 3 The upper part of a stroke descending to the right, e.g. λ

Fr. 22.

. . .
].απιπται....[
]αμβονποιηθηκοα.[

Fr. 22 1 At the end bases of letters capable of various interpretations: the first and fourth are the feet of uprights, the latter preceded by traces which might be taken for κ or λ and followed by traces which might be taken for α; the second might be μ

Fr. 23.

].τ.[
]τρ[]ξ.[
]αμβικ[.]τοδε [
]ηχοριαμβικον [
5]λωσενποτερον [
]..δηλοσενετιως [
]..τρησενουαρχη [
]..μχοριαμβι^κ [
]... [
.

Fr. 23 1] possible 2 ξα possible 3 Perhaps κ[σ]υ

Fr. 24.

	Col. i.	Col. ii.

	]..ρ	[
	]..ε	.[]..[
	]7	χα..νημων[
	]πε	α..ι..αιπωμασαι.[
5	]α	οδη.[.]..φλυϊνης_νηλα.[
	]ν	...[]..ναβιδαογδειο.[
	]κα	[]τροποια/ομδε.[
	]ε	[]...κτικοςοκα[
	]..αμβι ^κ [	]..ταριωνκ[
10	]εκτα [	]..ραταξιν[
	]ετρ. [	]..σακλεων[
	. . . . .	]..τεινδεπ[
	. . . . .	]..υ..κασαλ.[
	. . . . .	]ατηετοκ_κα.[

Fr. 24 Col. ii 5 ν might perhaps be ερ .[.], the lower part of an upright some ink; possibly ου(τω) .[.], a small arc on the line, e.g. ε[8 Possibly ληκ 10]πα not verifiable 13 Before υ a tailed letter; possibly φυλακ .[.], the left-hand tip of a cross-stroke, as of τ 14 .[.], a stroke rising from well below the line with a slight left to right slope, e.g. λ

INDICES

(The figures 22 are to be supplied before 08-44; figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman figures to columns; an asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the Ninth Edition of Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon; square brackets indicate that a word does not occur in the papyrus, but is added from other sources or by conjecture; round brackets, in the indices to non-literary texts, that the word is not complete in the papyrus. In Index I dialect forms have been reduced to Attic forms where the latter are known.)

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

(a) CALLIMACHUS (2208-18 and Addenda)

ἀβρός 11 ^{1 r} 23.	ἄκτιάς 11 ^{1 v} 9.	ἄππος 10 ¹⁶ 7.
ἀγαθός 08 ^{3 II} 11 ^{2 v} 4 [12 ¹⁹ 3].	Ἀλητεῖσαι 12 ¹⁸ 5.	ἀπο[13 ⁸ 8.
ἀγειν [16 ^{1 v} 4, 7].	ἀλτρός 13 ⁸ 14.	ἀπό 11 ^{1 r} 14 ^{1 v} 22 14 ⁹ , 21
ἀγνός 11 ^{1 r} 3.	ἄλκαρ 14 29.	16 ^{1 v} [4], 13.
ἀγών [12 ¹⁸ 6].	Ἀκίνοος 09 A 6.	ἀποκρύπτειν 09 A 9.
ἀγωνιστής [12 ¹⁸ 9].	ἀλλά 67 ^{6 I} 12 ²⁰ 4(?) 13 ¹ 15	ἀποτιμᾶν [12 ¹⁸ 8].
ἄελθος 16 ^{1 r} 3.	[17 12].	ἄρα 16 ^{1 v} 5.
ἀεί 08 ^{3 I5} 11 ^{2 v} 2 [12 ¹⁹ 1]	ἄλλος 67 ³ 3.	Ἀργολικός 11 ^{2 v} 6.
16 ^{1 r} 12.	ἄμμαλα 14 27.	ἄρη 16 ^{1 r} 6.
ἄζεσθαι 11 ^{1 v} 13.	ἄμαρτάνειν 15 ¹ 14.	Ἀρήδη 11 ^{1 r} 22.
ἀη[16 ^{3 v} 2.	ἄμβλός 67 ⁶ 4(?).	Ἀρμασπεῖος [14 12].
ἀθάνατος 08 ¹ 6(?).	ἄμοιβαδῖς 14 23.	Ἄρτεμις 13 ¹ 14 18 ^{I(?)} .
αἰαῖ 11 ^{1 v} 22.	Ἀμμόνη 11 ^{1 r} 7.	ἀστεροπή 16 ^{1 v} 10.
Αἰγαῖον 12 ¹⁸ 6.	ἄμφι 09 B 9(?) 13 ⁸ II.	ἀστήρ 11 ^{1 r} 17.
Αἰγαλέως 16 ^{1 v} 7.	ἄμφις 11 ^{1 r} 6.	ατα .[14 19.
αἰδεῖσθαι [11 ^{1 v} 17].	ἄμφότερος 11 ^{1 r} 17.	αὐγάζειν 13 ⁸ 15.
αἰδώς 12 ⁴ 10.	ἄν 11 ^{1 v} 10 17 13.	αὐθι 16 ^{1 r} 4.
αἰέν 13 ⁸ 7.	ἀνά 11 ^{1 v} 3.	αὐξ[10 ¹⁹ 3.
αἰθεν 11 ^{1 r} II.	ἀνάγειν 14 19.	αὐος 17 9.
αἰθήρ [16 ^{1 v} 1].	ἀναιδής 14 29.	αὐριον [10 ¹⁶ 9].
αἶμα 11 ^{1 r} 16.	ἀναξ 11 ^{2 v} 10 1 ^r 14.	Ἀυρόνιος 16 ^{1 v} 12.
αὐ[12 ²⁴ 1, 2.	ἀνάσσειν 15 ¹ 10.	αὐτίκα 10 ⁴ 6 15 ² 4.
αἶρα 11 ^{2 r} 2.	ἀνέρχασθαι 13 ⁸ 4.	Ἀντομάτη 11 ^{1 r} 8.
αἰσυμνήτης 16 ^{1 r} 10.	ἀνήρ 11 ^{1 v} 10, 14, 18 2 ^v II	αὐτός 08 ³ 5 11 ^{1 r} 10, 24 2 ^r 7
αἰτεῖν 11 ^{1 r} 19.	12 ^{1 (b)} 4 13 ²⁴ 1.	13 ⁸ 9 15 ¹ 2.
αἰτίζειν 16 ^{1 v} 4.	ἄνθρωπος 15 ¹ 8.	αὐτοσχέδιος 09 B 3.
αἴψα 12 ²⁷ 4.	ἀνῆν [09 A 3].	ἄφαρ 11 ^{1 v} 3.
ἀκή(-ν?) 16 ^{1 r} 9.	ἀνέφελος 16 ^{1 v} 2.	ἄφνειός 13 ⁸ 7.
ἄκληρος 15 ¹ 13.	ἀντί 11 ^{1 r} 19.	ἄφρων 08 ⁸ 10 15 ² 5.
ἄκμων 11 ^{2 r} 7.	ἀντιάζειν [08 ¹ 2].	ἄχαριστος [10 ¹⁶ 8].
Ἀκόντιος 11 ^{1 r} 10.	Ἀντιόπη 14 22(?).	*ἄχθαίνειν 11 ^{1 v} 4.
ἀκούειν 11 ^{1 v} 14.	ἄξιος 08 ¹ 6.	ἄωτον 17 14.
ἀκουή [10 ¹⁹ 9].	ἄζων 17 10.	
Ἀκραγαντινος 11 ^{1 v} 13.	ἀπάγειν 13 ⁸ 7.	βάλλειν 10 ^{1 r} 13 ⁸ 8.
ἀκριβής 09 B 7(?).	ἀπειπεῖν 11 ^{1 r} 27.	βαρύνειν 11 ^{1 v} b.
ἄκρος [10 ¹⁶ 6(?)] [16 ^{1 v} 6]	ἀπεχθής 13 ⁸ 12.	βασιλεύς 11 ^{2 v} 4 12 ¹⁹ 3.
17 14.	ἀπηναῖος 13 ⁸ 5.	βιάσθαι 10 ¹⁸ 2(?).

Fragment of ancient Greek text, likely from a papyrus scroll. The text is arranged in approximately six horizontal lines, though the fragment is irregularly shaped and partially obscured by damage. The characters are in a cursive or semi-cursive script, characteristic of Hellenistic or Roman period documents. The visible characters include alpha, beta, gamma, delta, epsilon, zeta, eta, theta, iota, kappa, lambda, mu, nu, xi, omicron, pi, rho, sigma, tau, upsilon, phi, chi, psi, omega, and various diacritical marks.

Fragment of ancient Greek text, likely from a papyrus scroll. This fragment is smaller and more irregularly shaped than the one above. It contains several lines of text, with some characters clearly visible, including what appears to be the word "ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑ" (Eucharistia) or a similar phrase, which is a common term in ancient Greek literature and religious texts. The script is consistent with the larger fragment above.